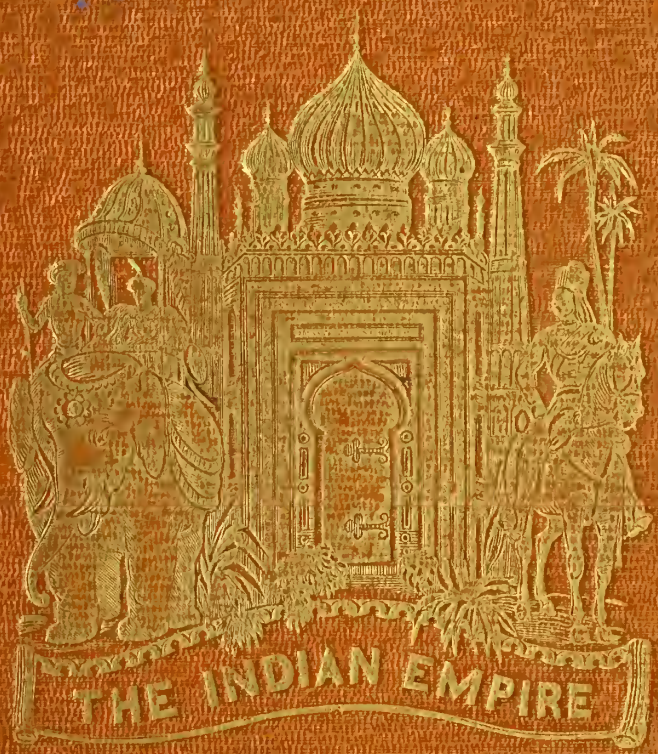

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.M35
v. 1

Division DS436
Section .M35
v.1

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STUDY

JUNIORS, 1914-15

Provisional
1915-16 Middler Roll.

MONTH—

SEAT NUMBER	DAY OF MONTH—						Total
1	Achor (omits 1, 5, 6, 9, 12)						
2	Batten						
3	Beery						
4	~~Bilkert (~~omits 5, 6) Axtell						
5	Breakey (omits 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11)						
6	Carruthers						
7	de Klerk (omits 5, 6)						
8	de Villiers (omits 5, 6)						
9	Dow (omits 5, 6)						
10	Eells						
11	Fornatoro (omits 5, 6)						
12	Fraser						
13	Gebhard (omits 5, 6)						
14	Gibson (omits 1, 5, 6, 9, 12)						
15	Graham, R. (omits 5, 6)						
16	Henderson (omits 5, 6)						
17	Jamison (omits 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11)						
18	Ketchledge						
19	Kilgus (omits 5, 6)						
20	~~Kroodsma~~ Lloyd						
21	Laird						
22	Lawson (omits 5, 6)						
23	Lin (omits 5, 6)						
24	~~McKenzie (~~omits 5, 6)						
25	Magner						
26	Miller, F. L.						
27	Miller, W. M.						
28	Olewiler (omits 5, 6)						
29	Patterson, J. (omits 1, 5, 6, 9, 12)						
30	Paul (omits 5, 6)						
31	~~Poppen~~						
32	Razey (omits 5, 6)						
33	Reinecke (omits 5, 6)						
34	Richmond						
35	Rossouw (omits 5, 6)						
36	Seel (omits 5, 6)						
37	~~Sessler (~~omits 5, 6)						
38	~~Sichterman~~						
39	Smart (omits 5, 6)						
40	Stewart						
41	Ulrich (omits 5, 6)						
42	Van Dyck						
43	~~Hampartzoumian~~ (omits 1, 5, 6)						
	Baird						
	Baldwin						
	Hosoi						
	Irshay						
	Finkham						

TAKING PART OF JUNIOR WORK

Allison 5, 6, 7, 8
Arya 1, 2, 8, 10, 11
Baird 1
Baltz 5, 6
Bannerji 2, 4, 7, 8, 9
Barber 5, 6

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The Nizam of the Deccan paying a State Visit to the British Resident to assure him of his adhesion to British interests

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

THE INDIAN EMPIRE, Illustrated

ARRIVAL OF CONTINGENT FORCE OF SIKH IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

THE ABBEY AND HILLS FROM NEAR MUSSOORE, ON THE JUMNA

DEDICATED BY

HER MOST GRACIOUS

AUTHORITY TO

MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

INDIA OFFICE

THE

INDIAN EMPIRE:

ITS HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, GOVERNMENT, FINANCE, COMMERCE, AND STAPLE PRODUCTS.

WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE

MUTINY OF THE NATIVE TROOPS,

AND AN EXPOSITION OF THE

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF ONE HUNDRED MILLION SUBJECTS OF THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, ESQ.,

LATE TREASURER TO THE QUEEN AT HONG KONG, AND MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN CHINA.

Illustrated with Maps, Portraits, Views, &c., from Original Sketches.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY (LIMITED),

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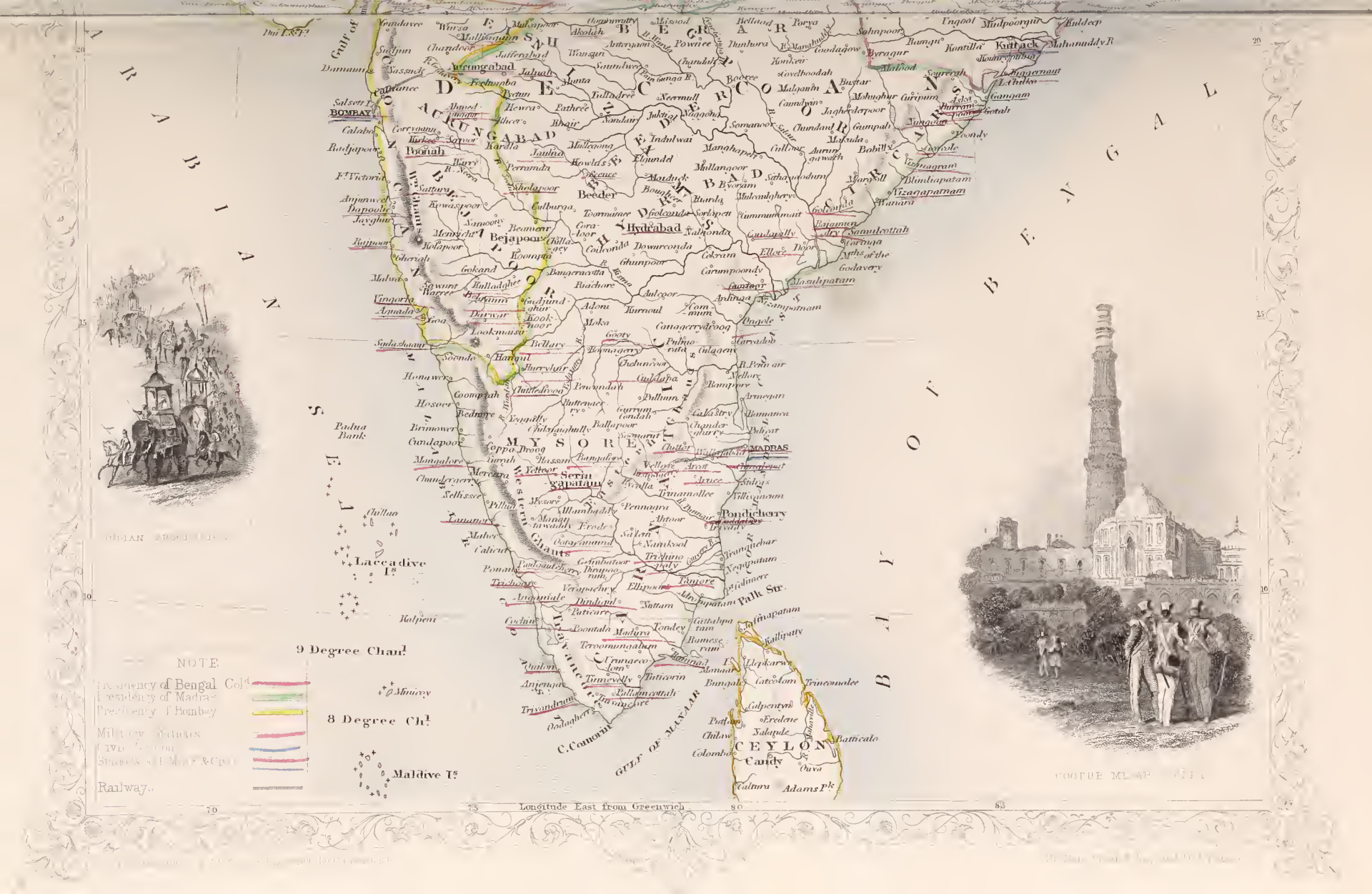
BRITISH INDIA
BELOOCHISTAN
RAJPOOTANA
Great Sandy Desert
DELHI
OUDE
MALWA
BHOTAN
TIBET
Himalaya Mounts
Lahore
Delhi
Agra
Lucknow
Cawnpoor
Benares
Patna
CALCUTTA
Multan
Peshawur
Kohat
Kalabagh
Attock
Srinagur or Kashmeer
Jessulmer
Ajmeer
Gwalior
Allahabad
Mirzapoor
Katmandu
Darjeeling
Moorshedabad
Hyderabad
Runn of Cutch
Gulf of Cutch
Ahmedabad
Mths of the Indus
Mths of the Ganges
Tropic of Cancer



ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
DECCAN
BERAR
AURUNGABAD
BEJAPOOR
HYDRABAD
BEEDER
MYSORE
MADRAS
Pondicherry
Seringapatam
Aurungabad
Poonah
Bombay
Hydrabad
Beejapoor
Beeder
Kuttack
Vizagapatam
Masulipatam
Goa
Mangalore
Calicut
Cochin
Madura
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Palk Str.
Jaffnapatam
Trincomalee
Batticalo
Candy
CEYLON
Adams Pk
C. Comorin
GULF OF MANAAR
Laccadive Is
Maldive Is
Padua Bank
Minicoy
9 Degree Chan.l
8 Degree Ch.l
Gulf of Cambay
Western Ghauts
Eastern Ghauts
NOTE
Presidency of Bengal Cold.
Presidency of Madras
Presidency of Bombay
Railways
Longitude East from Greenwich
70
75
80
85

TABLE OF DISTANCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT

To find the Distance between two places, such as Bombay and Poonah, look along the column parallel to the word in the intersection show

	Agra	Ahmedabad	Ahmednuggur	Ajmere	Allahabad	Arcot	Aurungabad	Bahar	Ballary	Bangalore	Bareilly	Benares	Bhooj	Bombay	Calcutta	Cawnpoor	Chittledroog	Cochin	Cuddapah	Dharwar	Dacca	Deesa	Delhi	Dinajepoor	Ellore	Etawah	Furruckabad	Ganjam	Goa	Gooty	Hansi	Hydrabad	Islamabad
Agra		460	660	200	296	1205	625	579	1019	1207	125	379	705	848	839	185	1104	1473	1060	980	984	400	120	794	836	70	98	760	1048	1052	200	830	
Ahmedabad	388		280	625	850	320	800	640	921	600	680	245	321	1234	600	740	1183	888	681	1304	104	570	1065	903	500	550	840	678	798	490	610		
Ahmednuggur	610	735		602	68	1047	340	530	875	700	627	181	1038	640	400	883	440	270	321	523	965	1000	370	640	690	670	250	350	810	280			
Ajmere	504	1214	545		787	973	1161	335	587	400	650	1035	395	1058	1407	1058	870	1194	220	220	997	930	260	304	953	995	977	210	816				
Allahabad	1110	635	279	975		1096	283	80	805	977	498	143	1060	1391	965	905	690	610	429	493	934	190	238	510	1036	1099	509	735				
Arcot	649	1392	262	135	1312		1180	1198	722	1850	1165	273	390	145	360	1227	1125	1329	1252	323	1115	1230	685	530	209	1409	375						
Aurungabad	980	428	616	782	704	596	260	963	638	513	882	513	412	1275	492	749	1210	523	610	700	630	423	440	750	315								
Bahar	1267	1455	509	196	1121	1236	297	400	1352	1673	1247	1237	407	889	703	230	1115	502	467	430	1312	1201	549	1017									
Ballary	176	1110	1045	977	455	1090	1030	85	454	149	130	1192	863	1143	1288	325	1000	1079	450	240	53	1118	240										
Bangalore	1324	1162	1141	632	1161	1147	138	317	155	260	1327	1011	1331	1352	423	1107	1242	753	396	176	1252	361											
Bareilly	345	830	1036	910	177	1195	1623	1135	1105	904	525	142	737	1175	120	82	830	1215	1151	322	967												
Benares	875	950	428	226	1130	1461	1035	995	559	690	503	410	873	270	321	460	1100	989	589	745													
Bhooj	556	1415	749	985	1510	1109	888	1639	219	669	1748	1148	699	747	1085	923	1043	600	855														
Bombay	1301	939	494	780	609	364	1475	452	880	1400	779	710	956	851	292	487	790	480															
Calcutta	760	1173	1498	997	1172	177	1226	976	233	719	768	...	369	1300	1017	1049	902																
Cawnpoor	1115	1446	1020	980	833	530	309	636	655	80	95	653	975	974	389	790																	
Chittledroog	397	190	130	1348	923	1228	1373	444	490	1164	784	257	20	1268	325																		
Cochin	472	442	1673	1306	1597	1698	769	1396	1541	1070	467	472	1632	656																			
Cuddapah	279	1172	1005	1184	1197	268	970	1085	608	389	96	1171	220																				
Dharwar	1344	684	1105	1260	420	1022	1112	720	80	173	1080	265																					
Dacca	1140	1108	190	904	829	880	546	1505	1192	1148	1112																						
Deesa	450	1100	810	450	500	870	730	873	430	630																							
Delhi	911	960	175	185	880	1172	1125	80	900																								
Dinajepoor	919	691	692	544	1620	1217	991	1137																									
Ellore	808	923	340	601	288	1040	208																										
Etawah	55	660	1033	924	210	740																											
Furruckabad	748	1134	1069	265	885																												
Ganjam	843	590	960	450																													
Goa	293	1055	393																														
Gooty	1020	187																															
Hansi	880																																
Hydrabad																																	
Islamabad																																	

DISTANCES FROM CALCUTTA.

Adoni	1030
Allyghur	803
Almora	910
Anjengo	1577
Arracan	557
Azimghur	448
Backergunge	125
Balasore	116
Bancoorah	101
Banda	560
Barrackpoor	16
Beder	980
Bednore	1290
Beerbhoom	127
Beitool	677
Bijnour	800
Broach	1228
Bhangulpoor	268
Bhopal	790
Burdwan	74
Buxar	398
Cabool	1815
Calingapatam	480
Calpee	648
Cambay	1253
Candahar	2047
Cashmere	1564
Chunar	437

Distances from Calcutta (contd.)

Comorin Cape	1770
Catmandoo	560
Dinapoor	411
Ellichpoor	700
Ferozpoor	1181
Futtyghur	703
Ghazeepoor	431
Golconda	907
Guntoor	807
Gwalior	772
Hoosungabad	924
Indore	1030
Jeypoor	850
Lahore	1356
Lassa	850
Midnapoor	69
Mirzapoor	448
Monghyr	304
Moorshedabad	124
Muttra	831
Mysoor	1246
Oude	562
Purneah	283
Sironj	819
Sumbulpoor	309
Tattah	1602
Vellore	1029

DISTANCES FROM MADRAS.

Adoni	270
Arnee	74
Azimghur	1220
Backergunge	1246
Balasore	922
Bandah	1102
Beder	470
Bednore	360
Belgaum	519
Bimlipatam	518
Broach	947
Burdwan	1066
Cabool	2131
Calicut	335
Cannanore	345
Cashmere	1882
Chingleput	36
Chunar	1146
Comorin Cape	410
Condapilly	285
Conjeveram	42
Cuddalore	100
Dindigul	217
Dowlutabad	655
Ellichpoor	600
Golconda	358
Guntoor	225
Gwalior	1154
Indore	975
Juggurnauth	595
Kamptee	722
Kurnool	289
Lahore	1675
Moorshedabad	1138

Distances from Madras (contd.)

Naggery	57
Neermull	533
Negapatam	160
Nundidroog	196
Oojein	1009
Oude	1228
Paniput	1428
Ponany	404
Pubna	1211
Pulicat	22
Quilon	385
Raichoor	349
Ramnad	275
Rhotuk	1422
Rungpoor	1322
Ruttunpoor	903
Suharunpoor	1477
Sadras	42
Secunderabad	398
Sherghotty	1258
Shahabad	1367
Tattah	1467
Sironj	905
Tinnevelly	350
Trivandrum	395
Tranquebar	147
Tuticorin	325
Vencatagherry	132
Warangul	414
Yelwall	293

PLACES IN BRITISH INDIA.—(BRITISH MILES.)

Bombay until it intersects the vertical column immediately over the termination of the word Poonah. The figures the number of Miles.

1124	628	300	916	480	150	777	202	1158	1469	1288	981	538	210	1305	454	1372	796	918	1315	921	856	250	160	1215	994	778	380	680	1400	1279	1406	1173	960	898
1514	340	685	1145	24	480	1032	640	1049	1177	896	820	440	280	1021	820	1101	413	770	1061	860	478	400	615	941	1285	571	675	158	1161	995	1131	840	648	880
1350	90	785	1060	384	540	853	660	613	720	503	470	360	605	580	995	682	76	520	610	550	120	440	750	500	1180	129	690	262	700	698	680	597	260	580
1270	550	480	1037	290	310	960	445	1152	1421	1242	975	553	20	1265	747	1297	730	903	1261	910	790	305	364	1185	1197	710	580	455	1403	1150	1331	1214	920	923
804	570	50	620	625	140	484	127	1055	1375	1244	979	405	430	1226	243	1167	788	650	1175	652	856	220	180	1149	760	735	70	765	1314	1239	1245	1075	935	933
1310	601	1160	1218	986	1025	798	1215	73	265	360	305	705	1134	210	1340	81	636	383	120	413	542	915	1235	210	1395	462	1170	870	165	290	170	9	458	503
1272	35	685	1033	353	510	774	688	689	824	697	533	293	460	720	864	739	144	470	716	490	209	380	725	640	1347	174	694	231	858	610	828	639	349	550
547	947	190	270	840	400	455	353	1237	1657	1536	1160	717	709	1508	40	1326	1138	640	1150	630	1147	440	360	1431	410	1057	170	1060	1444	1527	1566	1390	1077	600
1338	360	915	1210	698	890	834	1080	317	396	269	345	460	830	292	1205	343	357	370	288	400	265	770	1050	212	1413	200	1035	640	430	260	353	220	230	480
1392	543	1146	1263	914	1011	898	1197	208	262	198	378	687	1066	130	1382	170	534	473	100	503	463	891	1181	65	1477	388	1152	809	209	160	165	110	360	522
1059	753	270	772	605	210	940	156	1297	1577	1345	1185	575	335	1458	472	1386	940	970	1316	935	981	330	85	1381	927	810	321	842	1516	1328	1409	1235	1020	1216
699	705	40	420	685	220	430	189	1103	1445	1314	748	475	510	1296	155	1286	930	660	1155	600	915	280	234	1170	600	815	10	905	1384	1305	1286	1180	1035	570
1701	585	855	1349	234	669	1277	779	1167	1281	1116	1098	685	410	1125	1044	1279	620	1065	1306	1105	685	645	865	1186	1475	778	865	365	1383	1196	1306	1188	820	1125
1531	220	1037	1312	313	660	1034	923	774	862	518	686	552	560	699	1143	805	98	705	736	740	146	555	855	622	1605	258	1120	177	674	615	845	675	270	761
250	952	500	214	1206	600	251	649	1030	1336	1313	764	722	1106	1268	340	1130	1208	665	1192	619	1232	806	694	1170	325	934	455	1238	1236	1312	1238	1029	1252	557
925	570	160	763	540	88	627	40	1182	1430	1199	700	460	340	1281	220	1271	841	793	1200	820	789	220	82	1204	903	709	216	738	1369	1290	1383	1120	981	1076
1423	415	1110	1383	784	975	919	1165	345	400	184	432	655	973	220	1290	354	396	491	228	524	310	850	1195	152	1498	260	1120	671	380	188	303	230	225	614
1709	710	1441	1580	1165	1344	1244	1496	459	150	252	751	986	1370	110	1121	360	770	790	180	820	622	1224	1524	190	1794	555	1451	1045	316	140	180	290	482	900
1233	430	1015	1108	730	880	743	1070	165	410	380	223	560	900	285	1195	226	507	318	205	348	414	750	1000	231	1308	300	1025	725	349	331	250	110	379	438
1452	320	955	1368	615	658	948	920	446	496	190	478	520	875	340	1475	260	268	470	360	500	180	676	976	260	1492	196	985	523	502	270	485	340	100	580
140	1241	599	110	1120	690	429	748	1211	1492	1488	931	1011	1069	1445	447	1319	1377	842	1202	812	1109	720	818	1403	130	1109	565	1413	1438	1495	1377	1225	1462	716
1476	380	668	1130	110	450	1052	560	1129	1259	896	848	470	220	1103	845	1205	416	840	1044	1057	581	420	560	1023	1260	664	680	261	1131	954	1166	1120	611	880
1202	748	415	896	500	270	882	280	1295	1594	1412	1109	662	230	1435	661	448	900	1022	1402	1022	958	370	210	1355	1103	898	505	675	1533	1323	1473	1230	1098	1072
330	970	410	80	1050	630	454	581	1236	1517	1513	964	740	920	1628	234	1324	1325	824	1317	794	1170	650	631	1428	190	1080	420	1258	1443	1528	1422	1240	1300	714
969	400	913	840	758	718	475	705	314	588	584	45	398	838	558	945	395	681	50	425	80	510	598	1114	499	1044	378	863	735	514	599	518	310	490	160
994	560	240	698	470	90	707	110	1114	1180	1076	853	410	260	1231	400	1220	754	755	150	770	819	210	110	1055	870	690	265	540	1319	1240	1189	1070	959	1156
1042	605	223	727	530	140	858	111	1165	1495	1348	968	465	280	1376	481	1365	858	870	1295	796	909	250	65	1299	921	730	312	760	1434	1155	1434	1215	1049	935
1282	590	498	579	876	570	90	637	697	938	860	370	400	940	855	445	735	720	290	813	260	742	510	690	839	694	610	455	860	889	939	855	660	800	170
1545	340	1080	1385	602	933	1076	1025	589	629	215	611	625	825	375	1260	611	265	651	410	681	160	803	1148	393	1620	240	1090	469	638	305	618	487	30	761
1550	360	1041	1128	731	834	763	1024	264	438	322	295	514	830	300	1149	290	350	338	250	368	310	714	954	230	1342	230	979	652	418	280	320	190	273	448
1313	660	495	976	500	350	962	360	1358	1514	1313	1181	738	230	1416	741	1360	790	1083	1412	1098	930	450	290	1336	1183	924	584	665	1449	1360	1471	1344	1070	1148
1152	250	785	1157	556	650	683	840	388	640	509	218	330	670	491	909	480	387	225	410	250	302	530	770	417	1227	170	735	565	569	500	549	330	350	320
....	1202	739	250	1456	919	501	888	1280	1586	1563	1014	740	1199	1518	500	1380	1458	915	1442	869	1482	1056	933	1429	190	1184	704	1488	1486	1562	1488	1279	1502	807
Jaulnah..	620	990	300	480	690	1600	668	756	535	468	230	470	652	865	682	168	430	643	506	210	350	650	572	1277	155	695	247	790	580	713	540	370	500		
Juanpoor..	460	675	190	470	135	1143	1425	1294	788	410	517	1276	160	1233	861	700	1195	705	840	270	185	1204	603	750	40	815	1354	1285	1334	1115	970	610		
Jumalpoor..	1110	640	460	609	1240	1483	1660	974	760	930	1393	300	1340	1211	830	1567	810	1190	740	659	1434	143	1120	430	1160	1446	1657	1388	1223	1340	720		
Kaira.....	460	1033	580	1025	1153	872	768	416	270	997	840	1077	377	746	1037	766	443	400	620	917	1253	513	675	122	1084	911	1064	981	572	908				
Kaltah.....	583	137	1024	1290	1040	763	330	308	1147	375	1140	654	675	1070	685	690	130	170	1077	783	660	210	539	1219	1050	1209	990	859	670				
Kuttack.....	619	812	1063	1059	520	582	790	1028	570	870	1002	380	900	350	869	490	664	974	576	680	430	1042	988	1074	993	785	1033	260						
Lucknow.....	1232	1480	1249	750	510	380	1331	316	1321	897	777	1250	779	897	250	50	1254	752	730	165	788	1419	118	1389	1170	979	1060							
Madras.....	289	446	265	704	1058	283	1266	88	672	370	219	394	616	918	1282	284	1355	465	1093	903	206	405	207	87	566	498								
Madura.....	366	570	970	1226	148	1605	200	764	648	137	678	676	1170	1410	236	1661	596	1435	103	105	242	80	245	566	768									
Mangalore	572	839	1108	198	1474	480	634	240	664	370	860	1160	130	1638	380	1301	755	376	90	355	335	230	744											
Masulipatam ..	443	883	515	1090	378	546	80	428	100	520	643	800	464	1064	388	738	745	496	561	475	290	533	190											
Nagpoor.....	440	821	635	811	451	374	740	388	436	200	542	744	1047	340	380	460	909	720	879	660	560	410												
Nusseerabad...	1122	673	1150	560	814	1176	828	725	300	370	1100	1073	634	502	435	1260	1070	1183	1010	755	850													
Ootacamund...	1391	209	608	603	88	633	520	1021	1261	80	1593	492	1288	782	165	105	135	209	405	723														
Patna	1291	1067	704	1400	693	1065	440	366	1217	443	975	165	1020	1544	1400	1481	1255	1195	627															
Pondicherry ..	673	445	121	482	608	1010	1371	231	1443	543	1276	953	118	308	118	91	360	586																
Poonah.....	612	628	637	65	524	869	525	1498	158	920	255	776	504	750	577	195	686																	
Rajahmundry..	475	30	527	574	1230	549	984	395	655	790	548	649	553	380	540	120																		
Salem	505	540	940	1180	110	1515	488	1145	928	90	195	70	121	435	623																			
Samulcottah...	552	530	832	579	954	420	595	721	578	679	583	411	570	80																				
Sattara.....	560	860	140	1477	132	904	320	705	450	655	485	135	622																					
Saugor.....	300	982	840	480	265	450	1099	930	1079	860	729	570																						
Seetapoor.....	1286	802	780	236	820	1339	1262	1319	1100	1063	1113																							
Seringapatam...	1533	412	1 60	702	245	100	225	176	330	659																								
Silhet	1256	605	1507	1560	1633	1565	1395	1577	861																									
Sholapoor.....	805	391	630	425	541	420	220	528																										
Sultanpoor (Benares)	710	1335	1235	1284	1170	940	562																											
Surat	1051	789	927	811	455	740																												
Tanjore	270	33	165	575	668																													
Tellicherry	240	276	335	759																														
Trichinopoly.	165	525	673																															
Vellore.....	517	503																																
Vingorla.....	670																																	
Vizagapatam.																																		

DISTANCES

FROM

BOMBAY.

Adoni	754
Asseerghur	290
Azimghur	977
Beitool	390
Beejapoor	245
Belgaum	318
Bhopal	449
Broach	190
Calpee	803
Chunar	952
Damaun	101
Ellichpoor	345
Goleonda	475
Gwalior	680
Hoosungabad	460
Jeypoor	745

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

Indore	377
Loodiana	1077
Malligaum	175
Mirzapoor	890
Mhow	360
Mysoor	636
Nassiek	100
Oude	1013
Oojein	408
Rajkote	458
Rutnagheriah	198

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

Ruttunpoor	772
Tattah	773
Sironi	595
Viziadroog	245

INTRODUCTION.

The Anglo-Indian Empire! what do these words represent in the minds of the people of Britain?

They speak of dominion over a far-distant sunny land, rich in barbaric gold, precious stones, and architectural beauty, occupying upwards of a million square miles of the most varied, fertile, and interesting portion of this globe, and inhabited by more than one hundred million of the human race.

The early history of this wonderful country lies hid in deep obscurity. Not the obscurity that naturally attends insignificance, but, far otherwise, caused by the dense veil which Time drew around Ancient India, in thickening folds, during centuries of deterioration; leaving the ruins of magnificent cities, and widely-scattered records graven in mysterious characters on almost imperishable materials, to attest the existence of civilised races—regarding whom even tradition is silent—at a date long prior to the Christian era.

Whence India was peopled, is quite unknown; but thirty different languages, and an equal diversity of appearance and character, dress, manners, and customs, seem to indicate long-continued immigration from various quarters.

The Alexandrine era (B.C. 330) throws light on little beyond the Macedonian invasion of the north-western frontier; the Arab incursions (A.D. 709) afford only a few glimpses of the borders of the Indus; and the thirteen expeditions of Mahmood the Ghuznivede (A.D. 1000 to 1025), give little beyond a vague and general idea of the wealth of the country and the dense population of the Western Coast, whose idolatry Mahmood was empowered to scourge with the strong arm of an Iconoclast; though he himself was but an instrument in the hands of Providence; and in battering down guardian fortresses and destroying temples and shrines dedicated to false gods, had evidently no higher motive than that of pillaging the dedicated treasures, and carrying away the worshippers into slavery.

From this period we can faintly trace the progress of Mohammedan conquest in India, to the establishment of the dynasty known as the *Slave Kings of Delhi* (A.D. 1208.) Its founder, Kootb-oo-deen, originally a Turki slave, established the centre of Moslem dominion in the grand old Hindoo capital, chiefly by reason of the disunion which had arisen among the leading Rajpoot princes upon the failure of a direct heir, and the consequent jealousies and disputes regarding the succession.

Then the page of history becomes more and more legible until it records the invasion of Timur or Tamerlane (A.D. 1398), the terrible details of the siege of Delhi, and the general massacre in which it terminated; and all the horrors enacted before "the apostle of desolation" took his departure, carrying off men and women of all ranks and ages into slavery, and leaving the devoted city without a government, and almost without inhabitants.

The succeeding Indian annals, though confused, are tolerably full to the commencement of that important epoch which comprises the reigns of the Great Moguls. This brings us within the pale of modern history: we can note the growth and decay of Mogul dominion, and trace, at least in measure, the operating causes of its extension and decline. Viewed as a mere series of biographies, the lives of the Great Moguls attract by incidents, which the pen of fiction, fettered by attention to probability, would hardly venture to trace. The members of this dynasty had a decidedly literary turn, and several of them have left records not only of the public events in which they played a leading part, but also of the domestic scenes in which they figured as sons, husbands, or fathers.

The value of these memoirs in elucidating or corroborating the histories of the period, is, of course, very great, and their authenticity rests on solid grounds, apart from the strong internal evidence they afford of having been actually written by the persons whose names they bear.

Nothing can be more characteristic than the intense self-adulation with which Timur, or Tamerlane, narrates his perfidious and sanguinary career, except perhaps the peculiar power of observation and analysis brought to bear on new scenes which mark the autobiography of his descendant Baber, who, following in his footsteps, invaded India from Cabool, and, after a fierce struggle on the plains of Paniput (A.D. 1526), gained easy possession of Delhi and Agra, and succeeded in laying the foundation of an extensive empire.

Humayun (A.D. 1530), Akber (A.D. 1556), Jehangeer (A.D. 1605), Shah Jehan (A.D. 1628), all encountered vicissitudes of the most singular and varied character; and the Mogul history increases in interest until it culminates in the long reign of Aurungzebe (A.D. 1658), the ablest and most powerful, but the most ambitious and bigoted of his race. During his sway the predatory hordes of Maharashtra were formed by the Hindoo adventurer, Sevajee, into a powerful state; the hated and despised Mahrattas grew strong upon the spoil of independent kingdoms demolished by the haughty emperor; and finally, his troops, worn by incessant toil, became mutinous for want of pay and provisions, and suffered their aged leader to be hunted even to the death by foes he had been accustomed to treat as utterly contemptible. The decay of the empire, which commenced several years before

the death of Aurungzebe (A.D. 1707), then became rapid; usurping viceroys, rebelling against their government and warring with the rulers of neighbouring states or provinces, aggravated the internal disorganisation. Nor were external foes wanting to complete the work of destruction: adventurers of all creeds and complexions fought fiercely over the ruins; while, distancing meaner competitors, Nadir Shah (A.D. 1739) and Ahmed Shah (A.D. 1759), the robber kings of Persia and Affghanistan, swooped down like vultures to secure their share of the carcass; and the chief cities of India, especially Delhi, repeatedly witnessed the most sanguinary enormities, and continued to do so until, one by one, they became gradually included in the widening circle of British supremacy.

And why dwell thus on the past at such a crisis as this, when the magic circle of our power has been rudely broken—when Delhi, filled to overflowing with all the munitions of war, has been treacherously snatched from our unsuspecting hands—and when the Crescent, raised again in deadly strife against the Cross, has been reared aloft as if in testimony that the Moslems who came into India proclaiming war to the death against idolatry, have quite abandoned their claim to a Divine mission, and are affecting to make common cause with the Hindoos, whose creed and practice they formerly declaimed against with so much horror and disgust? Now Mohammedans and Hindoos unite in committing crimes of a character so deep and deadly, so foul and loathsome, that we find no parallel for them; not in the relentless, inventive vengeance of the Red Indians; not even in that crisis of civilised infidelity, that fierce paroxysm of the French Revolution, still shudderingly called the "Reign of Terror." The Red Republicans made public avowal of atheism; and awful was the depravity into which they sank, world-wide the shame they incurred: but recantation soon followed. These treacherous Sepoys, who have so suddenly risen in a body, violating every oath of fidelity, every tie of feeling and association—they, too, have their watchword: it is not "There is no God;" it is "Death to the Christians!"

As in France, no religious persecution, but rather a state of conventional apathy, leavened by the poison of Voltaire, Diderot, Condorcet, and their clique, preceded the atheistical and sanguinary outburst; even so has it been with India. Efforts for the extension of Christianity have been wholly exceptional; the rule has been tolerance, amounting to indifference, in all religious matters. Few who have been in the habit of reading Indian periodicals, much less of mixing in Indian society, will deny that, however manifest the desire for the diffusion of the Gospel might be in individuals, the government had remained markedly neutral.

The Mussulmans, let it be repeated, subjugated and governed India in the character of anti-idolaters. They tolerated—and barely tolerated—the heathenism around them, to which their aversion was, for the most part, quite undisguised; and they were always eager for individual conversions. Their open assertion of the superiority of their faith was viewed as natural by the Hindoos; nor does any angry feeling appear to have been excited, save in exceptional cases of actual persecution. Aurungzebe certainly alienated a large portion of his subjects by reviving a long-abandoned capitation-tax on infidels; and whether he did this from a desire to refill the treasury emptied by incessant warfare, or from sheer bigotry, the result was the same. Many causes (among which may be named, not as the avowed ones, but certainly not as the least powerful—sloth and sensuality, fostered by an enervating climate) have concurred in rendering the Indian followers of Mohammed comparatively regardless of that integral portion of their creed which enjoins its extension by all and every means. But no earnest believer in the Koran can be tolerant of idolatry; and therefore, when we hear of Moslem and Hindoo linked together in a most unprovoked crusade against Christians, it is manifest that the pretext is altogether false, and that the Mussulman, who is taught by the book he deems inspired never to name our Blessed Lord without reverence, or idols without abhorrence, cannot now be actuated by any religious motive, however perverted or fanatical, in violating the first principles of his faith and by affected sympathy with the professors of a creed heretofore declared utterly polluted and debasing, using them as dupes and tools in carrying out an incendiary plot, the planned details of which only Devil-worshippers, possessed by unclean spirits, could have been supposed capable of conceiving and executing. The conspiracy, beyond a doubt, has originated in the desire of the Mohammedans to recover their lost supremacy in India. Its immediate and secondary causes are involved in temporary obscurity; but the *primum mobile* must be sought for in the pages of history. It is true the flame has spread like wildfire: but the important question for those who are capable of grappling with the complicated bearings of this all-engrossing subject, is not—what hand applied the match? but how came such vast masses of combustibles to be so widely spread, so ready for ignition?

To understand this in any satisfactory degree, the inquirer must be content to begin at the beginning, by carefully weighing the fragmentary records we possess of the history and character of the Hindoos as a distinct people, noting the causes which led to their gradual subjugation by the Moslems; next, those which paved the way for the introduction of European

Powers; and, lastly, the establishment and operation of British supremacy throughout India.

The indifference which the British nation and its rulers have so long evinced to the study of Asiatic history, has been most unfortunate. Wrapped in fancied security, we have been too ignorant to be anxious, too indolent to be watchful; and the few who have felt it an imperative duty to speak words of warning by bringing the experience of the past to bear upon the signs of the present, have found themselves set down as alarmists on this point at least, whatever their general character for ability and sound judgment. Yet the fact is certain, that almost every leading authority from the date of our earliest assumption of territorial power, has dwelt forcibly on the necessity for unsleeping vigilance in the administration of Indian affairs. This conviction has been the invariable result of extensive acquaintance with the natives, and it is abundantly corroborated by the recorded antecedents of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

The history of India, whether in early times or during the Mohammedan epoch, is—as the brief outline sketched in preceding pages was designed to indicate—no less interesting as a narrative than important in its bearing on the leading events of the present epoch, which, in fact, cannot, without it, be rendered intelligible. The struggles of European Powers for Asiatic ascendancy, form leading features in the annals of each of these states. Portugal was first in the field, and long and fierce was the combat she waged to maintain exclusive possession of the rich monopoly of Oriental commerce. The Dutch (then known as the Netherlanders) enjoyed a share of the profits in the capacity of carriers between the Portuguese factories and the northern nations of Europe; but when, in 1579, they formed themselves into a separate government in defiance of the power of Philip of Spain, that monarch, who then governed with an iron sceptre the united kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, forbade the employment of the Dutch as intermediaries—a prohibition which led to their trafficking on their own account, forming various trading settlements in the East in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and supplanting their former employers.

The first attempts of England were made, at the same period, by a company of London merchants, warmly encouraged by the Queen, who signed a charter on their behalf on the last day of the sixteenth century. During the following century the English continued to be simply traders, with no cravings for political or territorial aggrandisement—absorbed in the business of buying and selling, and anxious only for the safety of their fleet, which rapidly became more formidable and extensive in proportion to the rich

freight it was destined to bear through seas infested with pirates, and frequently preoccupied by hostile European squadrons.

The eighteenth century opened upon an entirely new phase of Indian annals. The decay of Mogul power, which had, as has been stated, commenced before the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, was greatly accelerated by that event, and by the war of succession which followed, as a natural consequence, the death of a Mogul emperor. The will of the deceased ruler decreed the division of his dominions among his sons; and had they consented to this arrangement, and cordially united in carrying it out, their allotted portions might possibly have been consolidated into distinct kingdoms. But brotherly love rarely flourishes under the shadow of a despotic throne; and the House of Timur formed no exception to this rule, having evinced a remarkable tendency to fratricide throughout the entire period of its Indian career. The younger sons of Aurungzebe went to war with their elder brother, each on his own account, and died the death they had provoked, leaving the survivor, Bahadur Shah, to rule as best he might the scattered territories styled the Empire. Anything more devoid of organisation—of any approach to unity—than the so-called Empire, cannot well be conceived. When Aurungzebe snatched the sceptre from the hands of his father, Shah Jehan, and condemned him to life-long captivity, the dominions he usurped were comparatively well governed, and might, under the sway of a ruler of such unquestionable ability, such indomitable perseverance, have been consolidated into a comparatively homogeneous mass But the unhallowed ambition at whose shrine he had sacrificed the liberty of his father and the lives of his brothers, still hurried him on, rendering him reckless of the internal decay which was manifestly at work in the very heart of his kingdom, while he was lavishing his resources in spreading desolation and ruin, famine and the sword, through every independent kingdom within his reach—extending his own only in name, throwing down governments and ancient land-marks, yet erecting none in their stead; becoming terrible as a destroyer, when he might have been great as a statesman and a consolidator.

A right view of the character of Aurungzebe, and a patient investigation of his career, is absolutely necessary to the obtainment of a clear insight into the state of India at the period when the English East India Company began to exchange their position of traders on sufferance for that of territorial lords. The first steps of this strange transformation can hardly be said to have been voluntary. The English merchants were still essentially traders. An examination of the East India House records (and no attempt has ever been made to garble or hide them away from friend or foe), will prove to the most pre-

judiced observer, that, as a body, they persistently opposed the acquisition of dominion. Nothing short of complete indifference can account for the excessive ignorance of Indian politics manifested in their official correspondence. It may, indeed, be urged that English factors in a foreign land, in addition to their characteristic reserve, are naturally much engrossed by the duties and cares of their calling, and, apart from prejudice, may well be excused for a degree of preoccupation which prevents them from making any very vigorous effort to penetrate the barriers of language and creed, manners and customs, which separate them from the people with whom they come to traffic. A time arrived, however, when the English could no longer be blind to the alarming political and social state of India. Every year, much more every decade, the disorganisation increased. Certain native Hindoo states, such as Mysoor, Travancore, the little mountainous principality of Coorg, and a few others, had been exempted, by their position or their insignificance, from Moslem usurpation. With these exceptions, strife and anarchy spread over the length and breadth of India. It was no organised struggle of race or creed; for Mussulman fought against Mussulman, Hindoo against Hindoo, and each against the other; Affghan warred with Mogul, Mogul with Rajpoot; Mahratta with all. The hand of every man was raised against his neighbour: the peasant went armed to the plough—the shepherd stood ready to defend his flock with his life; the energy and determination of local authorities kept up some degree of order in their immediate districts; but, in general, the absence of a government strong enough to protect its innocent subjects from internal vice or external aggression, was manifested in the fearful audacity with which the Pindarry, Dacoity, and Thug, the trained marauder, thief, and assassin, pursued their murderous avocations, in the blaze of noon as in the darkness of midnight.

The Hindoos fell back upon the ancient village system, which the usurping Mohammedans had vainly striven to destroy; and the internal organisation of these little municipalities, each possessing its own Potail or Mayor, enabled them to parry, or at least rally from, attacks from without.

The English laboured for the effectual fortification of the various factories gradually established in different parts of India, and included, according to their situation, in the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Armed neutrality, however, would have been barely practicable, even so far as the numerous warring native powers were concerned. The conduct of their European rivals rendered such a position quite untenable. The French East India Company had, so far as trade was concerned, proved a decided

failure: its *employés* were very inferior to the English as factors; but as political agents, they possessed diplomatic instincts peculiar to themselves.

Dumas, Dupleix, and the gifted La Bourdonnais, saw clearly the opportunity afforded for the territorial establishment of their nation, and they eagerly took part in the quarrels around them, making offensive and defensive alliances with the neighbouring states, interfering in cases of disputed succession, and taking, with bold and unfaltering steps, the apparent road to political power. None of the English functionaries approached their rivals in ability; but they could not be blind to the increasing danger of their situation; and the example set by the French, of drilling native troops and organising them as far as possible in accordance with European notions, was followed throughout the British settlements. Then came the inevitable struggle between the two powers whose unsleeping rivalry had so often evidenced itself in strife and bloodshed at the very ends of the earth. At first they met in indirect hostility as the auxiliaries of native princes; but the first indications of European war were eagerly seized on as a cause for direct opposition, and a fierce struggle ensued, which eventually left the English complete masters of the field. While the Carnatic, in which Madras is situated, was the scene of this contest, the English in Bengal were subjected to the most oppressive exactions by the usurping Mohammedan governor, Surajah Dowlah, whose seizure and pillage of Calcutta in June, 1756, was marked by the horrible massacre of the "Black Hole"—a deed which, up to that period, even Mohammedan annals can hardly equal in atrocity; but to which, after the lapse of a hundred years, many terrible parallels have been furnished.

The tidings spread like wildfire through the British settlements, and the conviction became deep and general, that it would be madness to trust to the faith or humanity of such men as the depraved Surajah Dowlah and his Moslem compeers. The Mogul Empire had become an empty name so far as the distant provinces were concerned, and there was absolutely no native state either strong enough to protect the English settlements, or just enough to be trusted. Never was the indomitable resolve of Britons in a foreign land more sternly tested, or more triumphantly evinced, than when their fortunes seemed at the lowest ebb—when the French and the Mohammedans, in different quarters, menaced their overthrow and extinction. "To drive these dogs into the sea!" was then, as now, the fervent aspiration of every Moslem regarding every European. But they wished to squeeze the orange before they threw away the rind. They were themselves divided, and had plans of individual aggrandizement to carry out against each other, and

generally over the Hindoos; and they well knew the value of European co-operation and instruction in the art of war.

The recapture of Calcutta was speedily effected by a force of 900 European troops and 1,500 Sepoys, commanded by a *ci-devant* writer, who had turned soldier, and risen to distinction in the Carnatic war.

Robert Clive—for it was he—looked round and saw the opportunity offered for exchanging the precarious footing then occupied by his countrymen for one of far greater importance and security. The Hindoos were daily becoming more impatient of the Mohammedan yoke, and the haughty Mussulmans were themselves divided regarding their ruler, whose reckless profligacy and violent temper had given many of them provocation of a description which excites, in an Oriental, feelings of the fiercest and most enduring revenge. The English watched the course of affairs with deep anxiety, and soon ascertained that, in violation of a treaty entered into after the reconquest of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah was plotting with the French for their destruction. Unquestionably, this procedure justified them in adopting hostile measures against their treacherous foe; though it does not even palliate some of the minor details, in which the crooked policy of Clive appears in painful contrast to his bravery as a soldier and his skill as a general. The result was the battle of Plassy (A.D. 1757), rapidly followed by the permanent establishment of British dominion in Bengal.

After this, the tide of success flowed on fast and full. If the reader will patiently peruse the pages of this history, he will see that our power has increased with marvellously little effort on our own part. As, when a stone is flung into a river, the first small circle expands and multiplies beyond calculation—so, in India, have we gone on extending our limits, as from the action of some inevitable necessity; less from our own will, than because we could not stand still without hazarding the position already gained. True, there have been most distressing instances of injustice and aggression; but these are the few and comparatively unimportant exceptions. So far as the general obtainment of political ascendancy in India is concerned, we may quote the apt comparison used by an old Rajpoot prince to Colonel Tod, in 1804, as conveying a perfectly correct idea of our process of appropriation. Alluding to a sort of melon which bursts asunder when fully matured, Zalim Sing said, "You stepped in at a lucky time; the *p'foot* was ripe, and you had only to take it bit by bit."*

The manner in which we have acquired power in India, is one thing; the use we have made of it, is another and more complicated question. For my

* *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. I., p. 766.

own part, I have long watched the Anglo-Indian government with feelings of deep anxiety, and have laboured to the utmost of my ability to awaken the British nation to a sense of the responsible and critical situation they had been led to occupy. It is now close upon twenty years since I was permitted, by the East India Company, to edit the official records of a survey made by Dr. Buchanan in Eastern India; and the impression on my mind was so forcible, that I could not refrain from prefacing the selections with a declaration that the *handwriting was on the wall*, and nothing but a complete and radical alteration of our system of government, could avert the punishment justly merited by our misuse of the great charge committed to us.

The primary reason of this misuse I believe to be the false and wicked assertion, that "we won India by the sword, and must keep it by the sword." There is another aphorism, much older and of much higher authority, which we should do well to think on—"They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." We did not conquer India by violence: we came as peaceful traders, and spent long years in that capacity; and during that time we succeeded in impressing on the minds of the natives a lively conviction of our energy, ability, and integrity. When the crisis came—as come it did, without our knowledge and greatly to our discomfiture—counting-houses were turned into barracks, bales of piece-goods helped to make barricades, clerks and writers were metamorphosed into military leaders, and, while themselves but learners, drilled the natives round them into a state of discipline before unknown.

Thus was formed the nucleus of that army on which we have leaned as if that, and that alone, had been the means of our obtaining dominion in India. For the perfect organisation of that mighty force, which lately numbered 300,000 men, we laboured with unwearied patience; and to this grand object we sacrificed every other. So long as the Sepoys were duly cared for, the condition of the mass of the people was a matter of comparative indifference. It was not the Great Ruler of the Universe, whose inscrutable decrees had placed this vast tract of heathendom in the hands of a people who professed to serve Him and Him only; rejecting every tradition of men; relying only on the mediation of His Son; resting for guidance only on His written word; asking only the interpretation of His Holy Spirit;—not so! The Anglo-Indian dominion had nothing whatever to do with any such religious speculations. We were not bound to set before the people the example of the faith which we affect to believe the very leaven of the earth. Until the last few years we did not view it even as a case of stewardship. We were not even called upon to exert our energy for developing

the physical resources of the country, and ameliorating the condition of the mass of the people. And why? Because free Britons, in the middle of the nineteenth century, have seen fit to assume the position of military despots, drowning the conviction that India was a God-given trust, in the vague notion of its being "an empire of opinion;" and then sinking, by an easy transition, from rationalism into the more popular notion of sheer force—"an empire of the sword," held by the might of our own strong arm.

Scepticism and cowardice lie at the root of our present disasters: deliberately have we chosen the fear of man, which blinds and enervates, rather than the fear of God, which enlightens and strengthens. With infatuated credulity we have nursed in our bosom the serpent that has stung us to the quick. Tolerance is, indeed, an essentially Christian quality; but who shall dare assume that praise for the Christianity which was made in the persons of high Protestant (?) officials, to bow its head before the licentious profligacy of the Mussulmans, and the heathen abominations and disgusting impurities of the modern Brahminical priesthood, and to witness, in silence, the spiritual enslavement and physical degradation of the mass?

We thought, perhaps, both Mussulmans and Brahmins too enervated by their respective orgies to be dangerous as enemies. This but proves our utter ignorance of the Oriental character, especially as developed in the Mohammedans. Let the reader glance over the history of their founder (and I have striven to sketch it in a subsequent page, in faithfulness, and not with the pen of a caricaturist), he will see in the False Prophet the type of sensuality, bigotry, ambition, grounded and rooted in the fiercest fanaticism; and that type has been perpetually reproduced, and will continue to be so until Mohammedanism shall be swept from the face of the earth.

How soon that may be, none can prophesy; but the general rising now taking place among the Mussulmans in Africa and Syria, as well as in India, are pointed at by many observers as preceding and indicating the death-throes of this once powerful, but already deeply sunken race.

For us, if we would hope to conquer, it must be by turning to the Lord of Hosts, as a nation, in deep repentance and humility: then only may we justly look for present help, and anticipate for the future that gift in which we have been so lamentably deficient—"a right judgment in all things." Thus favoured, we shall not shrink from the responsibilities of an evangelized nation; but shall understand, that there is no surer way of obtaining respect in the eyes of the quick-witted Hindoos, than by a consistent adherence to our religious professions. The means commend themselves to every unprejudiced person really versed in Indian affairs; and, assuredly, none

other will be blessed of God. We cannot hope to pass off indifference for tolerance: the Mohammedans see through the flimsy disguise, and bid the heathen throw off the ignominious yoke of Kafirs (infidels.) Christianity they reverence, and dread to see us manifest any tokens of it. Well they may; for nothing else will cover our head in the day of battle. That day has come. May we now have grace to control the fearful passions provoked by the most horrible outrages; and may the memory of our own shortcomings towards God, enable us, if He gives the victory, to use it mercifully. Let us not forget, that the innocent blood spilt in the last few weeks, cannot blot out the memory of the debt which England owes to India.* The Parliament of Britain now must dictate the course to be followed in a matter of vital importance to the nation whose opinions it represents. The portion of the British public impressed with sound and practical religious views, is, happily, larger and more influential than would appear to superficial observers. The fact is indicated in the increase of missionary enterprise, the extension of education, and, indirectly, in the progress of public improvements, and the initiation of reformatory measures. The faulty judicial system, the partial and vexatious land-tenure, the defective monetary circulation of India, have come under discussion; and if, as God in mercy grant, Britain is permitted to retain the brightest jewel in her crown—the most valuable of her transmarine possessions—it is fervently to be desired that we may apply ourselves diligently to remedy all deficiencies, to repair, as far as possible, past neglects, and provide against future emergencies.

The details of the present terrible episode will be given fully in subsequent pages; day by day that close seems approaching, with the record of which the Author hopes to be enabled to terminate this Work.

* The pecuniary debt is wholly on the side of England. The cost, alike of civil and military government, including the payment of the royal troops, has been entirely defrayed from the Indian revenues: so, if we succeed, must be the expenses of the present insurrection. The money remittances to England from the three Presidencies average five million sterling for the last sixty years. There is scarcely a country in the United Kingdom but has had the value of its landed property enhanced by the investments of fortunes, the fruit of civil or military services or of commercial success in Hindoostan. Again, how many British statesmen and commanders have had their genius elicited and educated in India. A noble field has been annually opened for the youth of Britain, and an expansive tone given to society by the constant discussion of great subjects.

The merchant and the manufacturer can best estimate the importance of a large, increasing, and lucrative market, free from high or hostile tariffs; and the advantage of an almost unlimited command of commodities, the regular obtainment of which is essential to the steady employment of their operations. Nor must it be forgotten, that Indian Imports and Exports to the amount of thirty million sterling, now furnish profitable employment to the best class of mercantile shipping.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY, MYTHOLOGICAL AND TRADITIONAL—PERSIAN AND OTHER INVASIONS—GREEK EXPEDITION AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER—PLUNDERING INCURSIONS OF MAHMOOD THE GHUZNIVEDE—MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS, DOMINION, AND DOWNFALL—RISE AND PROGRESS OF BRITISH POWER AND SUPREMACY.

ANCIENT HISTORY, TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER.—India or Hindoostan, with its noble rivers, diversified climate, productive soil, and extensive coast-line, offered advantages for colonization, which were availed of at a very early period in the history of the human race. Of its first inhabitants we know little, beyond their being, as it is generally believed, still represented by various barbarous tribes who yet inhabit the mountains and forests, and follow rude religious practices that are no part of the primitive Hindoo system. By whom or at what time these were subdued or expelled there is no ground to rest anything more than a surmise; and of the many that have been, or might be, hazarded on this difficult but interesting subject, perhaps not the least reasonable is the supposition based on the varied craniological development, and distinct languages of the existing Hindoo race—that they were originally composed of numerous migrating hordes who, at intervals, poured in from the wild Mongolian steppes and Turkomanian ranges, from the forests of Scythia, the arid shores of the Caspian, and the sunburnt plains of Mesopotamia; from the plateaux of Persia, the deserts of Arabia, and even from the fertile valley of the Nile, allured by the extraordinary fertility of this most favoured portion of the Asiatic continent, or driven from their native land by tyranny or want. Time and circumstances gradually fused the heterogeneous mass into something like homogeneity; the first step to which was probably made by the introduction, in a rude form, of that village system which so markedly characterises India when viewed as a whole, and which, under the scourge of sanguinary wars, and the heavy exactions of native or foreign rulers, has ever been the mainstay of the people. The invaders, if such they were, probably brought with them the elements of civilisation; and the peaceful pursuits of pastoral and agricultural life would necessitate a certain amount of concentration, as no single man or family could dwell alone in a country whose dense jungle required combined labour, both to clear it for use and guard it from wild beasts. All this, however, relates to a period concerning which we possess no historical record whatever—in which must have originated what may be termed Brahminical Hindooism, whose rise and early progress is shrouded in dense obscurity. From the internal evidence afforded by the system itself, so far as we are acquainted with it during its early purity, it would seem to have been framed by a small confederacy of persons, whose knowledge, both religious and secular, being far in advance of their age, had enabled them to draw up rules for the guidance of their countrymen, both as regarded their duty to God and their fellows. Fully aware, as it would appear, of the great fact, that human institutions have strength and permanence only when based on a religious principle, they set forth their own scheme as the direct ordination of the "Self-Existent One," the "Great First Cause," whose attributes they described in a tone of solemn grandeur not unbefitting their high theme; and to enforce their precepts and heighten their influence, made much use of the rude lyrics extant among the people, to which they added others. These were compiled under the name of the Vedas (a word derived from a Sanscrit root, signifying *to know*), by one Vyasa, who lived in the four-

teenth century before the Christian era. In describing the religious creed of the Hindoos, and commenting on the opinions entertained respecting the comparative antiquity of Brahminism and Boodhism, the most ancient sacred writings of each of these great sects will be noticed; but here it is only necessary to remark, that the Vedas bear incontestable evidence of having been written at different periods, some being in very rugged Sanscrit, others, though antiquated, coming within the pale of that language in the polished form in which Sir William Jones found it, when he declared it to be "of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."* One only of the Vedas, the *Sama Veda*, has yet been translated into English. The translator, Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay, leans to the opinion of its having been composed out of India, but brought there by the Brahmins from some northern country at a very remote period. Another authority, after a careful examination of the same book, has arrived at a directly opposite conclusion.† Be this as it may, there are expressions in the Vedas which prove that the majority of the detached pieces of different kinds of poetic composition which they comprise, were written in a country where maritime commerce was highly esteemed, where a sacrificial ritual had already been fixed, and mythological legends abounded. The frequent reference to war and to chariots indicate, moreover, the previous establishment of separate states, and the cultivation of military art.

The first comprehensive view of the state of society among the Hindoos is afforded by the code of laws which bears the name of Menu, and is supposed, but not on very convincing data, to have been compiled in or about the ninth century, B.C.‡ Whether Menu himself were a real personage or no is an open question, and one of little importance, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of the speakers in the dialogues of Plato or of Cicero. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the ancient commentator Calluca, whose endeavours to gloss over and explain away some doctrines of Menu, seems to indicate that opinion had already begun to change, even in his day; while many succeeding commentators, and some of very ancient date, speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time.

The chief feature in the code is its division of the people into four classes or casts;§ namely, the Brahmins or sacerdotal; the Cshatriya or military; the Vaisyas or industrial; and the Soodras‖ or servile. The three first classes were termed the "twice-born," their youths being admitted, at certain ages, by a solemn ceremony, to participate in the religious and social privileges of their elders; but the fourth and lowest cast was rigidly excluded from all these. The degradation of the Soodras has given rise to the idea of their being the people whom the superior classes had conquered; and similar inferences may be drawn from the fact that, while the "twice-born" were all strictly forbidden, under any circumstances, to leave, what, for want of a better term, may be styled Hindoostan Proper; the Soodra, distressed for the means of subsistence, might go where he would. It appears, however, from the code, that there were still cities governed by Soodra kings, in which Brahmins were advised not to reside. From this it seems probable that the independent Soodra towns were situated in such of the small territories into which Hindoostan was divided as yet retained their freedom, while the whole of the tracts south of the Vindya mountains remained untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. On the other hand, it is remarkable that neither the code of Menu, nor the more ancient Vedas, so far as we are at present acquainted with their contents, ever allude to any prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 422.

† Arthur's *Mission to the Mysore*, p. 441.

‡ Sir W. Jones supposed the Code to have been compiled about 300 years after the Vedas (*As. R.*, vol. vii., p. 283); but Elphinstone fixes the date at some time about half-way between Alexander, in the fourth century, B.C., and the Vedas in the fourteenth. (Vol. i., p. 430.)

§ Cast, the common word, is not Indian, but English; and is given in Johnson's *Dictionary* as derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, *casta*, a breed. In Sir W. Jones' *Translation of Menu*, the word employed is "class:" the Brahmins constantly use the Sanscrit term as signifying a species.

‖ There are few things more perplexing in the study of Indian history than the various modes of spelling proper names and other words, which have resulted from the difficulty of representing them in the characters of our alphabet. In the present work, the author has deemed it advisable to adopt that best known and most easily read, in preference to what might have been more critically correct.

any country out of India. Even mythology goes no farther than the Himalaya mountains for the location of the gods. With regard to the condition of the Soodras, it appears to have been in many points similar, but in some decidedly preferable, to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems, excepting only its stern prohibition of any share in the ordinances of religion. But this might have originated in the probable circumstance of the conquered people having a distinct creed of their own, to prevent the spreading of which among their disciples, the Brahmins* (in whom, Elphinstone has well said, the common interests of their class, mingled, probably, with much pure zeal for their monotheistic faith, was deeply rooted) united religion and rank so closely in their able scheme, that to break through, or even in minor observances to deviate from the strict rules of duty laid down for the guidance of the several regenerate classes, was to forfeit position, and literally to incur the penalty of a civil death, far passing excommunication in severity, and to place themselves under a ban which wearisome penance could alone remove. One passion—and it would seem only one—was strong enough to break down the barriers of cast. A mixed race sprang up, who were gradually formed into classes, and divided and subdivided, until the result is now seen in an almost countless number of small communities. In subsequent sections, in describing manners, customs, laws, and government, it will be necessary to show what these were in the days of Menu, and the changes which gradually took place up to the period of English dominion; but at present we are more immediately concerned with that difficult subject, the chronological succession of events in Hindoo history.

Oriental research has, as yet, revealed to us but one Hindoo work that can be strictly considered historical, the *Annals of Cashmere*, ably translated by Professor Wilson, which refers chiefly to a limited territory on the extreme northern frontier of India, and contains little more than incidental mention of Hindoostan and the Deccan. There is, besides, an evident and not unnatural desire on the part of the native writer to aggrandize the rulers of Cashmere at the expense of the neighbouring princes, which gives an impression of one-sidedness to a production possessed, notwithstanding, of much value and interest. The student is, therefore, compelled to fall back upon the wide field, as yet but very partially explored, presented in the sacred books, the legislative records, and the two great epic poems. The knowledge obtainable from these sources is, in too many cases, rendered comparatively useless, by the misleading chronology taught by the Brahmins, apparently as a means of sustaining the claim of their nation to a fabulous antiquity. The periods employed in the computation of time are equally strange and unsatisfactory, and are rendered peculiarly puzzling by the astronomical data on which they are partially founded. A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa, or day of Brahma. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods, each containing seventy-one maha yugas, or great ages, which again comprise, respectively, four yugas, or ages, of unequal length. These last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks, and are alone considered by the Brahmins as marking the periods of human history since the creation of the existing world, which they believe to have occurred about four million years ago. The first, or satya yuga, lasted 1,728,000 years, through the whole of which a king named Satyavrata, otherwise called Vaivaswata, lived and reigned. This monarch is described as having escaped with his family from an universal deluge, which destroyed the rest of the world. From him descended two royal lines, one of which, under the designation of Soorya, the children of the sun, reigned at Ayodhya or Oude; the other, Chandra, or the children of the moon, at Pratisht'hana or Vitora, in the tract between the Jumna and Ganges, through the 1,296,000 years of the second, or treta yuga; the 864,000 years of the third, or dwapar yuga; and the first 1,000 years of the present, or cali yuga, at which time both the solar and lunar races became extinct; as also a distinct cotemporary race, the descendants of Jarasandha, who began to reign in Magadha or Behar, at the

* Elphinstone suggests a doubt "whether the conquerors were a foreign people or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance,) which had outstripped their fellow citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves."—*History of India*, vol. i., p. 96.

† It is evident that in the time of Menu there were no slaves attached to the soil.

commencement of the cáli yuga. The last reigning prince of the Jarasandha family was slain by his prime minister, who placed his own son, Pradyota, on the throne. Fifteen of the usurping race enjoyed the sovereignty to the time of Nanda, who, in extreme old age (after a reign, it is said, of 100 years), was murdered by a Brahman, by whom a man of the Maurya race, named Chandra-Gupta, was placed on the vacant throne.*

The genealogies of the two parallel lines of the sun and moon are derived from the sacred writings called the Puranas.† Sir William Jones framed his list from the Bhagavat Purana; Captain Wilford subsequently collated his genealogical table of the great Hindoo dynasties from the Vishnu and other Puranas;‡ and, if critical research should eventually succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology, much information may be obtained by means of those lists respecting the early rulers. Wanting this clue, the student will find abundant material for theory, but the historian little that he dares make his own; for the narratives given in the Puranas abound in discrepancies regarding time and place, and are so blended with myths and allegories, that it is next to impossible, at present, to separate truth from fiction, until the period of the Maha Bharat or Great War.§

The scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages, appears to be uniformly placed, both in the Puranas, and the far older institutes of Menu, in a tract called Bramhaverta, because of its sanctity, situated between the rivers Seraswati (Sersooty) and Drishadwati (Caggar), 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi; and about 65 miles long by 20 to 40 broad.‖ Probably the next territory acquired lay between that above-mentioned and the Jumna, and included North Behar, this country being mentioned in the second place under the honoured name of Brahmarshi, while Brahmins born within its boundaries were pronounced suitable teachers of the several usages of men.¶ At Oude, in the centre of Brahmarshi, the Puranas, (in which the preceding early stages are not noticed,) fix the origin of the solar and lunar races, from one or other of which all the royal families of ancient India were descended. Some fifty to seventy generations of the solar race, who, in the absence of reliable information, appear little better than myths, bring down the Purana narrative to Rama, the ruler of a powerful kingdom in Hindoostan, and the hero of the oldest Hindu epic—the Ramayana. The chief incident is the carrying off of Sita, the queen of Rama, by Ravana, the king of the island of Lanka, or Ceylon. Rama leads an army into the Deccan, penetrates to Ceylon, and, with the assistance of a strange people allegorized as an army of monkeys, led by Hooniman, their king, gains a complete victory over the ravisher, and recovers his wife, who vindicates her fidelity by successfully passing the ordeal of fire. According to the system of

* According to Mill (vol. i., p. 160); but Elphinstone states Chandra Gupta to have been ninth in succession from Nanda.—Vol. i., p. 261.

† There are eighteen Puranas, which are considered to have been composed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, A.D.; but several of the authors appear to have made use of much more ancient MS. histories to interweave among their own.

‡ The lines of the Sun and Moon, and the Magadha dynasty, are given at length by Colonel Tod, in the first volume of his valuable and voluminous work the *Annals of Rajasthan*. They were extracted from the Puranas by a body of pundits, and differ more or less in various parts from those published by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bentley, and Colonel Wilford. Tod's view of the vexed question of early Hindoo records may be understood from his careful enumeration of various traditions which all "appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindoo and Greek approach a common focus, for there is little doubt that Adnath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Menu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah" (vol. i., p. 22). The solar and lunar lines he considers to have been established 2,256 years, B.C., about a century and a half after the flood, the former by Ichswaca the son of Vaivaswatoo Menu, the latter by Boodha, who married Ichswatoo's sister Ella, asserted to be the earth personified—Boodha himself being "the parent and first emigrant of the Indu [Sanscrit for the moon] race, from Saca Dwipa or Scythia to Hindust'han" (p. 45). In another place Tod describes Boodha as the great progenitor of the Tartars, Chinese, and Hindus, "Boodha (Mercury), the son of Indu (the moon), [a male deity] became the patriarchal and spiritual leader, as Fo in China; Woden and Teutates of the tribes migrating to Europe. Hence it follows that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India Proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Sooryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into the present mild form, the Jain" (p. 58).

§ See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Professor Wilson's edition of the *Vishnu Purana*, Sir W. Jones aud Colonel Wilford's articles in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. ii. and v., and Dr. H. Buchanan's *Hindoo Genealogies*.

‖ Menu, book ii., v. 17, 18: Wilson, preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxvii.

¶ Menu, book ii., v. 19, 20; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 388.

deifying great men after their decease, which gradually crept into Brahminism, Rama, upon his death, was honoured as a god, and his image worshipped, his natural form being declared to have been an incarnation (the seventh) of Vishnu, one of the three persons, or principles, of the Hindoo Trinity.

A remarkable passage occurs in the Ramayana, in which mention is made of certain foreign princes, who were invited by Dasaratha (the father of Rama) to be present at the Aswamedha* or solemn sacrifice of a horse about to be offered up by the aged monarch, to procure from the gods the blessing of male posterity. The names mentioned are the "sovereign of Kasi or Benares, the rajahs of Magadha or Behar, of Sindu and Surashta (Sinde and Surat), of Unga and Savira (of which one is conjectured to mean Ava, the other some district situated on the Persian frontier), and, in fine, the princes of the south or the Decean. Heeren, who cites the above passage from the Ramayana, adds—"they are represented as the friends, and some of them also as the relations of Dasaratha, by no means however as his vassals. It is therefore evident that the author of the most ancient Hindoo epic poem considered India to be divided into a number of separate and independent principalities."† This opinion, however, is not founded on indisputable grounds, for many of his auxiliaries appear to have stood to Dasaratha in the relation of viceroys, or at least inferior chieftains. The antiquity of the poem is unquestioned; the author, Valmiki, is said to have been cotemporary with the event he has so ably commemorated,‡ but we have no means of fixing the date of either poem or poet except as somewhere between that of the Vedas and the Maha Bharat, since king Dasaratha is described as deeply versed in the precepts of the Vedas and Vedangas, while on the other hand an epitome of the Ramayana is given in the Maha Bharat. After Rama, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions, but as no more mention is made of Ayodha (Oude) it is possible that the kingdom (which was at one time called Coshala) may have merged in another; and that the capital was transferred from Oude to Canouj. The heroic poem, entitled the "Maha Bharat" or Great War, affords an account of many historical events, in the details of a contest between the lines of Pandoo§ and of Curoo, two branches of the reigning lunar race for the territory of Hastinapoora, supposed to be a place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‖ The rivals are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote parts. The enumeration of them appears to afford evidence similar to that deducible from the above cited passage of the Ramayana, that there were many distinct states in India among which a considerable degree of intercourse and connection was maintained. Not only are princes from the Decean and the Indus mentioned, as taking part in the struggle, but auxiliaries are likewise included belonging to nations beyond the Indus, especially the Yavans, a name which most orientalists consider to apply exclusively to the Greeks.¶ The Pandoos are eventually conquerors, but are represented as having paid so dearly for their victory, in the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, that the chief survivors quitted their country, and are supposed to have perished among the snows of the Himalaya.** The hero of the poem is Crishna, the great ally of the Pandoos, who was deified after his death as having been an incarnation of Vishnu, or even Vishnu himself. He was born of the

* Aswa is thought to be the etymon of Asia, medha signifies "to kill."

† Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Oxford Translation; 1833: vol. iii., p. 291.

‡ "Rama preceded Crishna: but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasa, who wrote the events they witnessed [this point is, however, questioned], were cotemporaries, it could not have been by many years."—(Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 457.

§ The origin of the Pandoo family is involved in fable, invented, evidently, to cover some great disgrace. According to tradition, Pandoo, whose capital was at Hastinapoora, being childless, his queen, by a charm, enticed the deities from their spheres, and became the mother of Yoodishtra, Bhima, Arjoona (the famous archer), Nycula, and Sideva. On the death of Pandoo, Yoodishtra, with the aid of the priesthood, was declared king, although the illegitimacy of himself and his brothers was asserted by Duryodhanu, the nephew of the deceased sovereign, who, as the representative of the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Curoos. For the whole story of the Maha Bharat, and it is a very interesting one, see the *Asiatic Researches*, and the comments of Tod in the early part of his *Annals of Rajasthan*.

‖ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 390.

¶ The Greeks, or Ionians, are descended from Javan, or Yavan, the seventh from Japhet.—(Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51.

** Tod surmises that they did not perish thus, but migrated into the Peloponnesus, and founded the colony of the Heraclidæ, stated by Volney to have been formed there 1078 years, B.C. See the reason for this conjecture, based chiefly on the supposition of the Pandoos being the descendants of the Indian Hercules, pp. 48, 51.

royal family of Mattra on the Jumna, but brought up by a herdsman in the neighbourhood, who concealed him from the tyrant who sought to slay him. This phase of his life is a very favourite one with the Hindoos, and he is worshipped in an infant form by an extensive sect, as also under the figure of a beautiful youth, in commemoration of the time he spent among the "gopis" or milkmaids, dancing, sporting, playing on the pipe, and captivating the hearts alike of rural maidens and princesses. Among the numerous exploits of his more mature age was the recovery of his usurped inheritance, whence, being driven by foreign foes, he removed to Dwarika, in Guzerat, where he founded a principality. He soon however became again involved in civil discord, and, according to Tod, was slain by one of the aboriginal tribes of Bheels. The Maha Bharat describes the sons of Crishna as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jumna. The war is supposed to have taken place in the fourteenth century, B.C., about 200 years before the siege of Troy, and the famous and lengthy poem in which it is commemorated is, as before stated, attributed to Vyasa, the collector of the Vedas.

The princes who succeeded the Pandoos, are variously stated at from twenty-nine to sixty-four in number; they appear to have transferred the seat of their government to Delhi; but little beyond a name is recorded of any of them. The kings of Magadha or Behar (the line mentioned as cotemporary with the latter portion of the dynasties of the sun and moon), play a more conspicuous part in the Purana records; they afford a connected chain from the war of the Maha Bharat to the fifth century after Christ, and present an appearance of probability, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters. They are frequently referred to in inscriptions sculptured on stone, or engraved on copper plates, conveying grants of land, or charters of privileges and immunities, which are very numerous, and not only contain the date of the grant, and the name of the prince by whom they were conferred, but in most cases enumerate, also, certain of his predecessors.

The first of the Magadha kings, Jarasandha, is mentioned in the Maha Bharat as the head of a number of petty princes. The ruling monarch at the conclusion of the war was Sahadeva; the thirty-fifth in succession from him was Ajata Satru; and in his reign, according to high authority,* Sakya, or Gotama, the founder of the Boodha religion flourished, and died about 550, B.C. This date, if reliable, does good service by fixing the era of Satru; but other eminent writers consider Boodhism of much earlier origin; and some as coeval with, or even older than Brahminism.† The sixth in succession from Satru was Nanda, who, unlike his long line of regal ancestors of the Cshatriya, or military class, was born of a Soodra mother; his ninth successor, who bore his name, was murdered by Chandra Gupta,‡ a man of low birth who usurped the throne. This Chandra Gupta has been, after much research, identified with Sandracottus, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great, and thus a link had been obtained wherewith to connect India with European history, and also with that of other Asiatic nations. The foregoing particulars have been given on strictly Indian authority, for although much extraneous information may be obtained from early foreign writers it is difficult to ascertain how to separate truth from fiction.§ According to Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Cicero, the first Indian conqueror was Bacchus or Dionysus, afterwards deified, who led an army out of Greece, subdued India, taught the inhabitants the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. The Egyptians, who spared no pains to fortify their claim to the highest antiquity and earliest civilization, and never scrupled to appropriate the great deeds of the heroes of other countries, as having been performed by their own rulers, maintained that Osiris, their conqueror, having first added Ethiopia to his dominions, marched thence to India through Arabia, taught the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. Both these stories evidently refer to the same person; namely, the Indian prince Vaisvawata Menu; whom Tod, the pains-taking but wildly theoretical Maurice, and other writers affirm to have been no other than the patriarch Noah. Be this as it may, one of the most valuable of ancient writers, Diodorus the Sicilian, declares, on the authority of Indian tradition, that Bacchus (Vaisvawata Menu) belonged to their own nation, was a lawgiver, built many stately

* Elphinstone, vol. i., pp. 209, 261.

† See note to page 14.

‡ Chandra Gupta signifies "protected by the moon."

§ Justin states that the Scythians conquered a great part of Asia, and penetrated to Egypt 1,500 years before Ninus, first king of Assyria.

cities, instituted divine worship, and erected everywhere courts of justice.

The alleged invasions of Semiramis,* Sesostris,† Hereules,‡ and Cyrus, are all denied by Arrian, except that attributed to Hercules. Strabo disputes even that, adding that the Persians hired mereenaries from India but never invaded it.§ The whole question respecting the nature of the alleged connection existing between India and Persia, is one which scareely admits a satisfactory explanation. Before the time of Cyrus the Great (the son of King Cambyses, the conqueror of Babylon and the Shepherd whose coming to perform the pleasure of the omnipotent God of the Hebrews, was foretold by Isaiah)‖, Persia was no more than an inconsiderable kingdom, afterwards comprehended in a single province, retaining the ancient name of Fars; but the conquests of the youthful general, on behalf of his uncle and father-in-law, Cyaxares, King of Media, whom he suceeeded, enabled him to unite the thrones of Persia and Media, as well as to sway neighbouring and distant states, to an extent which it is at present not easy to define, though it was amply suffieient to form what was termed the Persian empire, 557, B. C. His eastern frontier certainly touched the verge of India; but whether it encroached yet farther, is a matter of doubt, and has been so for eenturies. Nor is it even an established point where India itself terminated; for although Elphinstone and

* The Assyrian invasion, according to the chronology of Capellus, took place about 1970, A.M. It was planned by Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, who, after consolidating her husband's Bactrian conquests, resolved to attempt the subjugation of India, being led thereto by the reported fruitfulness of the soil and the riches of its inhabitants. She spent three years in assembling an immense army, drawn from all the provinces of her extensive empire, and caused the shipwrights of Phœnieia, Syria, and Cyprus, to send to the frontier 2,000 ships or large barks, in pieces, so that they might be carried thence to the Indus, and there put in array against the naval force of the Indians. All things being ready, Semiramis marched from Bactria (Balk) with an army, which it has been well said, "the Greek historians have, by their relations, rendered less wonderful than inereedible;" for they describe it as having consisted of 3,000,000 foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 war chariots, and 100,000 camels, a portion of the latter being made to resemble elephants—by means of a framework being covered with the skins of oxen; this device being employed to delude the Indians into the belief of the invaders being superior to them even in this respect. Stabrobates, the king of the countries bordering the Indus, on receiving intelligence of the intended invasion, assembled his troops, augmented the number of his elephants, caused 4,000 boats to be built of cane (which is not subject to rot, or to be eaten by worms, evils known to be very prevalent at the present day), to occupy the Indus; and headed his army on the eastern bank, in readiness to support them. The attacking fleet being victorious, Stabrobates abandoned his position, leaving the enemy a free passage; and Semiramis, making a bridge of boats, crossed over with her whole force. The counterfeit elephants, which play an important part in the narrative, were marched in front, and at first created great alarm; but the deception being revealed by some deserters from the camp, the Indians recovered their spirits. A fierce contest ensued, in which the Assyrians had at first the advantage, but were eventually totally overthrown, and Semiramis fled, accompanied by a very slender retinue, and escaped with great difficulty to her own dominions. Sueh is the tale related by Diodorus Siculus; and, however little to be relied on in many respects, it may at least be cited in testimony of the reputation for wealth and civilization enjoyed by India at a very early period. With regard to Semiramis, recent discoveries of ruins and deciphering of inscriptions have placed her existence as an historical personage beyond a doubt.

† The invasion of Sesostris, king of Egypt, A.M. 3023, is alleged to have been as successful as that of Semiramis had proved disastrous. Desiring to render his subjects a commercial people, he fitted out a fleet of 400 ships in the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea (being the inventor, it is alleged, of ships of war), by means of which all the countries stretching along the Erythrean or Arabian Sea to India were subjugated. Meanwhile he led his army through Asia, and being everywhere victorious, crossed the Ganges and advaneed to the Indian Ocean. He spent nine years in this expedition, but exacted no other tokens of submission from the conquered nations than the sending annually of presents to Egypt. Perhaps this story, recorded by Diodorus Siculus, and quoted by Harris and by Robertson (who discredits it), in his *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 6, may have originated in the efforts of Sesostris for the extension of commerce; but the success of his plans, whether pursued by warlike or peaceful means, could have been at best but short-lived, since, after his death the Egyptians relapsed into their previous anti-maritime habits; and centuries elapsed before their direct trade with India became of importance.

‡ The Greek accounts of Hercules having been in India is thought to have arisen from the fact of there having been a native prince of that name, who, according to the Hindoo traditions cited by Diodorus Siculus (who wrote 44, B.C.), was after his death honoured as a god, having in life excelled all mere men in strength and courage; cleared both the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts; founded many cities, the most famous of which was Palibothra, where he built a stately palace strongly fortified, and rendered impregnable by being surrounded by deep trenches, into which he let an adjacent river. When his numerous sons were grown up, he divided India equally among them; and they reigned long and happily, but never engaged in any foreign expeditions, or sent forth colonies into distant countries, being content with the resources of their own fertile domains.

§ Arrian's *Indica:* Strabo, lib. xv.; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 440.

‖ Isaiah; chap. xliv., v. 28.

other writers follow Strabo in declaring the Indus, from the mountains to the sea, to have formed its western limit, other authorities consider the territory of the Hindoos to have stretched far beyond. Colonel Wilford adduces a verse in their Sacred Writings, which prohibits the three upper, or "twice-born" classes, from *crossing* the Indus, but says that they were at liberty to pass to the other side, by going round its source.* Amid so many difficulties and contradictory statements, it is only possible to note the points which seem most reasonable and best authenticated.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was raised to the throne of Persia, B.C. 521, by the seven nobles who conspired against Gomates, the Magian, by whom it had been usurped after the death of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, whose daughter Atossa he afterwards married. Desiring to know the termination of the Indus, and the state of the adjacent countries, with a view to their conquest, Darius built a fleet at Caspatyrus, in the territory of Pactyica on that river, which he entrusted to a skilful Greek mariner named Scylax, who fulfilled his instructions by sailing down the whole length of the Indus, thence coasting to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and ascending the Arabian gulf to the port at its northern extremity. The account given by Scylax of the fertility, high cultivation, and dense population of the country through which his route lay, incited Darius at once to attempt its acquisition. By the aid of the Tyrians, who were intimately acquainted with the navigation, he brought a numerous force on the coast, while he himself headed a land attack. According to Dr. Robertson, he subjugated "the districts watered by the Indus;"† while Colonel Chesney speaks of his conquests as limited to the "Indian territory westward of the Indus.‡" Both appear to rely exclusively on the testimony of Herodotus, who states that "the Indians" consented to pay an annual tribute of 360 Eubœan talents of gold, or a talent a day—the Persian year being then considered to comprise only 360 days. The sum would appear to be overstated; for a single talent, at the lowest computation, was equal to £3,000 English money; and even, though India may have then deserved its high reputation as a gold-producing region, this tax would have been very onerous. It is, however, certain, that at this time the force of Persian gold was known and feared by neighbouring states, and had a powerful share in enabling the successors of Darius to keep together the chief part of the widely-scattered dominions, which he displayed great ability in even partially consolidating and dividing into satrapies, or governments; of these his Indian possessions formed the twentieth and last.§

Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, had a body of Indian troops in his service; but he discouraged maritime intercourse, considering traffic by land more desirable; and indeed he and his successors are said to have adopted the Babylonian policy of preventing invasions by sea, by blocking up the navigation of some of the chief rivers, instead of guarding the coast with an efficient naval force.

We find but few traces of India‖ during the remaining reigns of the Persian monarchs, until the time of their last ruler, Darius Codomanus, who succeeded to the sway of a disorganized territory, consisting of numerous provinces, or rather kingdoms, differing in religion, languages, laws, customs, and interests; and bound together by no tie of a permanent character. A powerful enemy was at hand, in the neighbouring kingdom of Macedon, which had sprung into importance almost as rapidly as Persia, and in a similar manner, having been raised by the talents of a single individual. Philip had acceded to the government of an ordinary state, weakened by war and dissension; but taking full advantage of the commanding geographical position of the country, and the warlike spirit of its hardy sons, he ren-

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 585.

† Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, p. 12.

‡ Colonel Chesney's *Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*. London: 1850; vol. ii., p. 180.

§ Herodotus, lib. iii. and iv.

‖ During the reign of Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther), Ctesias, the king's physician, and the author of a voluminous history of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires, wrote a book on India, founded upon the accounts he obtained from the Persians. His works are not now extant, though various extracts are to be found in different authors. They are all unfavourably commented on, especially that on India, by several Greek writers, who pronounce them fabulous. Plutarch, Aristotle, and even Strabo, notwithstanding their severe censures, have, however, not scrupled to borrow from the pages of Ctesias such statements as appeared to them probable; and Diodorus, as well as Herodotus and Athenæus, are said to have drawn largely from the same source. Xenophon, who was personally acquainted with Ctesias, speaks of him with great respect, though differing from many of his opinions.

dered it the centre of arts and civilization, second only to Persia in power, and superior even to Persia in influence, on account of the state of corruption and excessive luxury into which that empire had fallen.

The free Grecian republics, weakened by strife and division, became for the most part subject to Macedonia, whose ancient constitution—a limited monarchy, which it was the interest of the community at large to maintain—proved a source of strength alike in offensive and defensive warfare. Still Macedonia appears to have been in some sort tributary to Persia; and it was possibly a dispute on this point which had led Philip to form the hostile intentions he was preparing to carry out, and which Arses, King of Persia, was occupied in endeavouring to prevent, when both were suddenly arrested in the midst of their schemes; Philip, who had escaped so many dangers in the battle-field, being stabbed in his own palace during the bridal festivities of his daughter Cleopatra, by Pausanias,* a Macedonian youth of rank; and Arses was poisoned about the same time.

The tender age of Alexander was forgotten in the enthusiasm raised by his manly and powerful eloquence. He assured the assembled Macedonians, previous to the funeral obsequies of his father, that though the name was changed they would find the king remained;—and he kept his word, elevating none of his personal friends, but continuing the able statesmen and generals in the positions in which he found them. By extraordinary address, this youth (for he was but twenty years old (succeeded in stifling the disturbances which followed the catastrophe at home, and in establishing his ascendancy as chief, by the free choice of the majority of the Grecian republics, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions of Demosthenes and his party.

Once firmly seated on the throne, having brought the Illyrian war to a rapid and successful conclusion and captured Thebes, Alexander made ready for a hazardous contest with his powerful compeer Darius, the successor of Arses; who, previous to his accession to the throne of Persia, had been distinguished for the judicious government of a large tract of country of which he had been satrap (viceroy). Although averse to war,† he had nevertheless distinguished himself in the conduct of military proceedings with hostile nations; and he lost no time in preparing for the threatened invasion. In the spring of the year 334, B.C., Alexander, with very limited resources in his possession, but with the riches of the East in prospect, crossed the Hellespont at the head of a confederated‡ army, variously estimated at 30,000 to 43,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry; and after a severe contest, defeated a Persian army 110,000 strong, who disputed with him the passage of the river Granicus, near Zelia, in Bithynia.

In eastern warfare the first victory is of incalculable importance—for the satraps and inferior governors are ever ready to transfer their allegiance to the conqueror, considering that he could be such only by the will of God, to which they are bound to submit.

* The motive of Pausanias is variously stated as having been the instigation of the Persian monarch (in which light Alexander chose to view it); a desire to revenge a personal insult; or otherwise, from ungovernable passion for Olympias, the mother of Alexander.—Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., p. 54. Justin attributes the deed to the incitement of the vindictive Olympias, who, immediately after her husband's assassination, caused his youngest wife and child to be put to a cruel death.

† Historians agree in describing Darius as amiable and equitable. The tale related by the Persian author, Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, concerning his message to Alexander, is therefore inconsistent with his character. According to this writer, Philip had agreed to furnish an annual subsidy of 1,000 eggs of pure gold. The Persian envoy, sent to demand the tribute from his successor, received the jeering reply that "the birds that laid the eggs had flown to the other world." Darius thereupon despatched an ambassador, with a bat and ball, as a fit amusement for the youthful monarch, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud, as an emblem of the innumerable Persian army. Alexander taking the bat, said—"This is my power with which I will strike your sovereign's dominion; and this fowl," pointing to one which had been brought at his command, and rapidly devoured the grain, "shows what a mere morsel his army will prove to mine." Then, giving the ambassador a wild melon, he desired him to tell Darius what he had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which might indicate the bitter lot that awaited him.—Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 55.

‡ The Grecian republics, excepting Lacedemonia, were favourable to Alexander's proposition of an Asiatic expedition; and his own hopes of success rested upon the jealousy and dissension which he knew existed among the numerous satraps or viceroys of Damascus, over whom the supreme authority of "the king of kings," as the Persian monarch was grandiloquently styled, sat lightly enough. The zeal of his officers, to whom rewards, almost princely, were held out in the event of success, and the admirable discipline of his troops, would, he trusted, prevail over the opposing force, and probably cause the defection of the bands of Greek mercenaries employed against him, as well as gain the suffrages of the Greek settlements in Asia, whose release from Persian rule was one of his avowed objects.

The consequence of this brilliant opening must have exceeded the hopes even of the Macedonian, who conducted himself with singular moderation—treating the people everywhere as subjects, not enemies; exacting from them no additional tribute to that previously claimed by Darius; and strictly forbidding pillage or massacre. Having obtained the "sinews of war" in the treasury of the Persian monarchs at Sardis, through the treachery of Mithrenes, the governor, Alexander proceeded on his brilliant career, until he became master of the whole of Lesser Asia. The possession of Cilicia was the next point necessary to his purpose, as it comprised the most practicable route between Greater and Lesser Asia, as well as the communication with Syria by land and with Greece by sea. The province was gained without difficulty; and Alexander (when recovered from a dangerous fever, which for a time checked his impetuous career) employed himself in securing his position, while Darius was straining every nerve to form an army, which should decisively defeat his adversary and re-establish the tottering fabric of the Persian empire. According to Arrian, he increased his Greek mercenaries to 30,000, to whom were joined about 60,000 Asiatics, called Cardacs, trained like the Greeks for close fight, and the middle and light-armed made up a total (including the followers) of 600,000, of whom perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 were fighting men. Darius crossed the Euphrates, and with his immense force covered the plains of Cilicia.

After a fierce struggle between the Macedonian phalanx* and the Persian-Greeks, the powerful monarchs met face to face: Darius, in the centre of the line, in a striking costume, and seated on a splendid chariot drawn by four horses abreast, had been from the first a special object of attack: Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, and many illustrious Persians, perished by his side, until his wounded horses became so ungovernable among the heaps of slain by which they were hemmed in, that the monarch was with difficulty rescued from the mêlée, by the valour of his brother Oxathres, and placed in another chariot, in which he fled, hotly but unsuccessfully pursued by Alexander, who had himself been slightly injured in the thigh.†

The loss of the Persians is stated by Arrian at 100,000, including 10,000 horse; the most valuable part of the baggage had been conveyed to Damascus, but was soon after captured by Parmenio, Alexander's ablest general, through the treachery of its governor.‡ Meanwhile the family of Darius—his mother, wife,§ and children—fell into the hands of the conqueror, who showed them much personal kindness; but when earnestly solicited to release them at the price of any ransom he might name, haughtily replied, that he would listen to that request only if asked in person, and on condition of being addressed as king of Asia, and lord of all once possessed by Darius. The insulted monarch had no resource but once more to prepare for war, which he had still ample opportunities of doing with a fair prospect of success, for the troops of the eastern satrapies, including some of the most warlike in his dominions, were on their way towards Babylon, and a few months might again see him at the head of a more numerous and more powerful host than that defeated at Issus, and Alexander might yet meet the fate of the younger Cyrus. Nearly two years elapsed before the kingly rivals again met. Meanwhile the conqueror pursued his meteor-like course, astonishing the world by his unequalled daring, yet consolidating his successes as he proceeded, by the consummate and thoroughly consistent policy with which he used all things as instruments of his great designs; diligently and ably promoting the material welfare of subjects (made such by the sword),

* The famous Macedonian or quadruple phalanx, as it was sometimes called, to mark its division into four parts, consisted of a body of 18,000 men, each defended by helmet, breast-plate, greaves, and the large shield called the aspis, and armed with a long sword and with the famous sarissa, a spear measuring four-and-twenty feet. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was sixteen ranks, the best soldiers being placed in the foremost and hindmost ranks, which formed as it were the framework of an engine whose efficiency depended on its compactness and uniformity of movement.—Rev. Connop (now Bishop) Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. vi., p. 147.

† Arrian, lib. ii., cap. xii.

‡ A loyal subject, moved with indignation, slew the traitor, and laid his head at the foot of his injured master.

§ Statira, the beautiful and beloved wife of Darius, died soon afterwards in childbirth, and Alexander caused her to be interred with every mark of honour; his conduct towards her throughout, so different from the usual licentious cruelty of Asiatic conquerors, excited a feeling of lively gratitude in the breast of her ill-fated husband, who never forgot this one redeeming feature in the conduct of his un relenting opponent.

humouring prejudice, flattering national vanity, rewarding individual service with unbounded munificence, but at the same time violating in every action the recognised rights of men, and showing himself throughout utterly unscrupulous as to the amount of suffering he inflicted, whether in subduing patriots to his will, or inflicting signal vengeance on those who, from the purest motives, ventured to oppose him. The island-city of Tyre, after a seven months' siege, was conquered by him, through the unconscious fulfilment of a scripture prophecy, in joining the island to the main, by a causeway 800 yards in length. The Tyrians defended themselves to the last with unfaltering determination; and, probably to check all thoughts of capitulation, executed their Macedonian prisoners and cast them into the sea in the sight of the besiegers, who, when their hour of triumph arrived, made this cruel act the excuse for the most unmitigated ferocity. With the exception of the king and some of the principal people, all were involved in a fearful doom; 8,000 perished in the first slaughter, 2,000 prisoners were crucified by order of Alexander, and 30,000 (including a number of foreign residents) were sold into slavery.*

Gaza was next subdued: the citizens, to the last man, died in its defence, and their women and children were sold as slaves. Alexander then marched upon Jerusalem, whose high priest Jaddua, had excited his wrath by refusing to violate the fidelity due to the Persian monarch in furnishing the invader with a supply of troops and provisions during the siege of Tyre. The Chaldeans and Phœnicians — ancient enemies of the Jews—accompanied the conqueror, buoyed up with the hope of sharing in the anticipated plunder, but they were witnesses of a very different result. When the army approached the Holy City, the High Priest, attended by the priests and Levites in their sacerdotal vestments, followed by a multitude of the inhabitants, decked in white feast-day robes, came out to meet Alexander, who, recognising, as he afterwards declared, in Jaddua, a figure shown to him in a dream at Dios, struck with pious awe, went up to the temple as a worshipper, and sacrificed according to the Jewish ritual. The priests informed him of his position as the fulfiller of the prophecy of Daniel,† than which nothing could be more gratifying, either to the ambitious designs or superstitious tendencies of Alexander, who took his departure, after making munificent offerings, and bestowing extraordinary privileges on the Jewish nation.‡

In January, 331, the Greeks penetrated into Egypt; and the people, whose religious prejudices had been cruelly insulted by their Persian masters, welcomed the approach of the conciliating conqueror, whose late worship of the God of Israel did not hinder him from sacrificing to their monstrous idols—even to Apis. Sailing down the western or Canobic arm of the Nile, he proceeded to found the greatest of the many noble cities which bore his name, on a site§ which he saw would render it an emporium for the commerce of the eastern and western world; it was colonised with a mixed population of Greeks and Romans—the abolition of the alienating prejudices of race being a marked feature in his mighty plan for the establishment of an universal empire.

After imitating the exploits attributed by Greek legends to his famous predecessors, Hercules and Perseus, braving the bare rocks and burning sands of the Libyan desert, and questioning the oracle of the temple of Ammon, erected in its famed Oasis, he returned to Memphis, completed the arrangements needful for the peaceable government of Egypt, and proceeded to Tyre, the appointed rendezvous of his fleet and army, to prepare for a final contest with Darius. In the autumn of the same year (331) he crossed the Euphrates, advanced at full speed towards the Tigris, where he had expected to meet the hostile force, but being disappointed, rested a few days on the left bank, and then, continuing his march, came up with Darius, whom he found encamped in one of the wide plains between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, at a village named Gaugamela (the camel's or dromedary's house), about twenty miles from the town of Arbela, which gave its name to the battle. To the last, Darius had endeavoured to make peace with Alexander, offering him the hand of

* Arrian. Curtius, however, states that 15,000 persons were rescued by the Sidonians.

† They probably showed him Daniel, chaps. 7 & 8.

‡ Whiston's *Josephus*, book xi., chap. viii.

§ The approach to the harbour of Alexandria was dangerous; for this reason the famous beacon tower, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, was built by the first Ptolemy, on a rock near the eastern point of the island of Pharos, and threw a light to a distance, it is said, of nearly forty miles.

his daughter, with a dower of 30,000 talents in gold, and intimating even willingness to divide the empire; indeed it was probably the hope of some such compromise being effected that induced him to allow the Greeks to cross the Euphrates and Tigris unmolested. The numbers of the respective armies would seem to have warranted him in the expectation of being able to dictate rather than solicit peace; but his munificent terms were not the less unhesitatingly rejected by the invader, though Parmenio and the Council urged their acceptance. According to Arrian, Alexander's force amounted to no more than 40,000 foot, and 7,000 horse; but this is evidently exclusive of the Asiatic levies, which there is reason to believe he had raised. The Persian army has been variously stated by Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, and others, at from 200,000 to 800,000 infantry, and from 40,000 to 200,000 horse, besides the Indian contingent of 200 war chariots and fifteen elephants, ranged in the centre of the mighty host, near the person of the monarch. During the weary night preceding the combat, Darius passed along the line by torch-light, cheering his soldiers, all of whom were, by a mistaken policy, kept continuously under arms, from momentary fear of a surprise. The dreaded attempt is said to have been actually suggested by Parmenio to his sovereign after the latter had retired to his tent, but rejected on the ground that it would be alike ignoble and impolitic to steal a victory, instead of gaining it by a fair trial of strength. In the morning the battle commenced, and was long and stoutly contested; the Indo-Scythian troops being, we are expressly told by Arrian, among the flower of the Persian army, and fighting valiantly to the death. The strife became very intricate, hostile bodies intermingled with each other in fierce combat, and the issue seemed to promise little short of annihilation to both parties, when a circumstance, slight in itself, turned the scale. A dart flung by Alexander, who was on horseback, killed the charioteer of Darius; and the confusion thus occasioned gave rise to the general belief that the king himself was slain. A complete panic ensued; the Persians fled in irremediable confusion, followed by Alexander—who was, however, obliged to renounce the pursuit and return to rescue Parmenio, who commanded his left wing, from the critical position in which he had been placed by the resistless onset of the Massagetian horse. There is no credible statement of the amount of life sacrificed on this eventful day; for that of Arrian, which records the loss of the Persians at 40,000, and the Greeks at 100, can scarcely be entertained. This contest sealed the downfall of one powerful empire, and crowned the conqueror with the fallen diadem, although the escape of Darius was still felt as affording serious cause for anxiety.

After allowing his army a brief revel among the luxuries of Babylon, and draining the treasury of Susa of its vast stores of unwrought ingots and golden darics, Alexander proceeded to Persepolis, and though he met with no resistance, suffered the stately city to be plundered by his soldiers, excepting only its magnificent palace, (which he afterwards set on fire with his own hand,)* and the citadel, which ancient writers agree in stating to have contained the prodigious sum of 120,000 talents, or more than £27,000,000 sterling.† Four months elapsed before he resumed the pursuit of Darius, who had meanwhile gathered together a small force, and intended to take refuge in the Bactrian satrapy of Bessus; but this disloyal servant, considering his master's fortunes desperate, conspired with the satraps of Arachosia and Aria either to kill or to deliver him to the Greeks, according as might best serve their private purpose—the securing independent possession of their satrapies. Alexander, after marching rapidly through Media, had reached a mountain pass called the Caspian Gates, before intelligence arrived of the plot; he exclaimed bitterly against the treachery to which his own ambition had subjected the royal fugitive, and pressed eagerly onwards to his rescue. The conspirators fled before him, and Darius resolutely refusing to accompany them, was left mortally wounded in his chariot, where his lifeless body was found by Alexander, who buried it with regal honours, provided for the maintenance of Sisygambis (his mother), married his daughter Statira, took charge of the education of his other children, and declared his determination of punishing the assassins. Artabazus, the faithful and long-tried adherent of Darius, then ninety-five years of age, he took into his own service, and evinced his respect for his fidelity by unremitting kindness to him and to his sons.

* At the suggestion, it is said, of Thais, an Athenian courtesan, made to him when heated with wine. Both Plutarch and Arrian record his immediate and undisguised regret for the deed.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. v., cap. 5; Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii., cap. 18; Justin, lib. xi., cap. 14.

Bessus finding himself disappointed in his hopes now braved the worst, by boldly assuming the tiara, and the title of Artaxerxes King of Asia, in defiance of the pretensions of Alexander, who wished to be considered as the avenger and rightful successor rather than the conqueror of Darius, and to receive even from his Macedonian subjects the species of adoration offered by the Persians to their king, as a preliminary to the divine honours, to which an oracle had declared him entitled. The Macedonians viewed these pretensions with undisguised aversion, and several of his bravest subjects, including Philotas and his father Parmenio, the beloved general of Philip,* became, under different pretences, victims to their opposition to this glaring impiety.† Barzaentes, one of the confederates of Bessus, took refuge among the Indians on the border of his eastern satrapy of Arachosia, but was delivered up by them to Alexander, who caused him to be put to death; Sartabarzanes, another of the traitors (and a double-dyed one, for he had voluntarily sworn allegiance to the conqueror), was slain in battle, and the arch conspirator Bessus alone remained. He had consulted his personal safety by fleeing across the vast mountain barrier of India, a part of which is there called the Paropamisus,‡ trusting that the natural difficulties of the country would greatly impede, if not entirely block up, the pursuit of a hostile force. He probably little knew the zeal with which, from very childhood, Alexander had striven for accurate geographical knowledge, eagerly questioning the ambassadors of his father's court as to the routes they had traversed, or heard of, so as to give the wisest of them some partial insight into the schemes even then passing through his brain. On arriving at the root of the chain, he was probably well acquainted with its general direction, as well as the defiles by which it might be traversed, especially since, during his sojourn in Phœnicia, he had had abundant opportunity of ascertaining the nature of the trade with India, and the means by which it was carried on, by land as well as by sea. At the foot of the pass by which he intended crossing, Alexander founded another Alexandria (ad Caucasum), where he planted a colony of Macedonian veterans; then, undeterred by the severity of the yet unexpired winter, he avoided the dangerous period of the melting snows, by commencing his mountain march, which lasted fifteen days, and was rendered arduous and harassing, not only from the natural causes of cold and fatigue, but also by scarcity of provisions. Bessus had laid waste the whole country between the lower valleys on the northern side, and the left bank of the Oxus, before he passed over with his troops, after which he burned the boats which had conveyed them. Alexander having captured the town and fortress of Aorni, and Bactra the chief city of Bactria (supposed to be the modern Balk), committed the charge of the newly-acquired territory to the venerable Artabazus; then dismissing some of the more infirm, or least willing, of the Macedonian troops and Thessalian volunteers, he proceeded across a strip of the great desert, which stretches from the Caspian to the high table-land, containing the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. On arriving at the former river, no boats or building materials could be procured, and the breadth was little less than 800 yards; but even this obstacle was overcome, and the whole of the troops transported safely over on skins stuffed with straw. The passage being accomplished after six days' labour, the Greeks pushed across the desert in a northerly direction, but were met by envoys from two of the chief followers of Bessus, who fell a victim to the same treachery he had practised towards Darius; and being delivered up by his followers, Spitamenes and others, suffered a cruel and ignominious death.§ The obtainment of the avowed object of the expedition did not put a stop to Alexander's progress. According to Plutarch it was about this period that he first entertained

* It is recorded by Plutarch, that Philip once said the Athenians were lucky to be able to find ten generals every year; he, in the course of many years, had only found one, Parmenio.

† The famous quarrel in which, during a carousal, Alexander slew his tried friend Cleitas, who had preserved his life in battle at the risk of his own, arose from the same cause; as did also the execution of Callisthenes, though on the avowed charge of having incited a conspiracy among the royal pages.

‡ This range (according to Masson) is distinct from the true Indian Caucasus, or Hindoo Koosh;—the name is derived from "par" and "pam," signifying *hill* and *flat*—the region around consisting of flat-topped hills.

§ He was publicly stripped and scourged, his nose and ears were cut off, and (according to Curtius and Diodorus) he was eventually surrendered to Oxathres and other kinsmen of Darius to be executed; but by some accounts he is represented as having been, by order of Alexander himself, torn limb from limb, by means of two trees, to which he was bound, being first bent and then suffered to spring back.—See Langhorne's Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. iv., p. 186.

the idea of following up his conquests by that of India. He had now reached a delightful region of great beauty and exuberant fertility, whose pastures afforded him fresh horses to supply the loss sustained in marching through mountains and deserts; thence he advanced to the capital of Sogdiana, called Maracanda, since known as Samarcand, in whose citadel he placed a Greek garrison. Still proceeding northwards, he founded another Alexandria on the Jaxartes, and was involved in some sharp contests with the Asiatic Scythians, in one of which a body of Macedonian horse were surprised and slain, and in another he was himself wounded. After repressing disturbances among the Sogdians, on whom he wreaked a cruel vengeance for what he thought fit to call rebellion to his self-constituted authority, he proceeded at the close of 329 to take up his winter quarters at Bactria or Zariaspa. For the next twelve months he found ample employment in stifling the efforts for independence of the Scythians, Sogdians, and the Bactrians, incited by Spitamenes, the most active and determined enemy he had yet encountered in Asia. This chief's motive appears to have been dissatisfaction at receiving less reward than he had expected for the surrender of Bessus. By a remarkable retribution he was in turn betrayed by his own troops, who, desirous of conciliating their powerful foe, cut off the head of their leader, and offered it as their own propitiation. Several of his confederates still lived and took refuge in the mountainous region about the upper valleys of the Oxus, with other chiefs who persevered in the struggle for liberty. They were not, however, of sufficient importance to detain Alexander any longer in the countries where he had already spent nearly two years, and which had been subdued only with much difficulty and large expenditure of blood and treasure, as well as by diplomacy; for example, by his marriage with Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, an influential Bactrian chief, he converted a dangerous enemy to a firm friend.

Greek Invasion of India.—In the spring of 327, Alexander prepared to attempt the conquest of the almost unknown countries bordering and beyond the Indus. The prestige of his success, and the generosity with which he treated all who submitted to his sway, induced a native ruler to send a friendly embassy before the army quitted Sogdiana. The name of this prince was recorded by the Greeks (who are unfortunately proverbial for the manner in which they distorted foreign words to suit their own pronunciation) as Omphis, or Mophis; but he was commonly called Taxiles, from Taxila,* the capital of his country, which lay between

* Taxila must have been a large and splendid city, but its site is still a matter of dispute. Schlosser places it at Attock, and Rennell at or near the same place. On the route leading thence to Lahore, are the ruins of a very ancient town of unknown name and origin, which is also supposed to have been Taxila. Abundance of Greek and Bactrian coins have been found in the numerous ruins and cupolas or topes which are scattered over the plain on which the present small village of Manikyala stands. One of these topes or tumuli (examined in 1833-34, by Mons. Court, an engineer officer then in the service of Runjeet Sing) was 80 feet high, with a circumference of 320 feet, solidly built of well-dressed quarried stones, some of huge size, cemented with lime; while a range of small columns, the capitals ornamented with rams' heads, surrounded the base. The Hindoos resort to the spot to offer up the first cuttings of the hair of their male children, a custom said to have been prevalent in ancient Greece. There are about fifteen smaller topes near the principal one; and, indeed, similar tumuli abound in different parts of Affghanistan, at Cabool, Jellalabad, in the Khyber hills, &c. They are generally constructed of sandstone, and of a nummulitic limestone (full of shell impressions), such as is found in the Egyptian pyramids. In one of the topes, which had a height of sixty or seventy feet, a cell was discovered at ten feet from the ground-level, whose four sides corresponded with the cardinal points; it was constructed in a solid manner, and covered with a massive slab containing inscriptions, some resembling the writings of the Rajpoots of the Himalaya, others the Ethiopian character. In the centre was a copper urn or cylinder, encircled by eight copper medals, (some apparently of the Winged-cap Sassanian dynasty,) with a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to the surface, which fell into shreds on being exposed to the air. The copper enclosed a silver urn, the intervening space being filled with a moist paste, devoid of smell, of the colour of raw umber, in which lay a thread of cotton gathered up into a knot. The silver, from age, had become quite brittle, and crumbled into bits between the fingers, as the metals found at Nineveh have since done. Within the silver vessel was a much smaller golden one, and seven silver medals with Latin characters. The gold cylinder contained four small, worn, golden coins of the Græco-Scythian, or Græco-Indian type, but of a far inferior fabrication to the silver ones; there were also two precious stones and four perforated pearls (which had been pendants of ear-rings), fragments of a vitreous nature, and small transparent yellow substances, with decayed organic matter. The country around, as proved by the quantity of ruins of old houses, must have once been very populous. Whether these topes or mounds served for royal mausolea, or Boodhistical shrines, or both, is doubtful: they were possibly the consecrated tombs of kings or of persons of distinction. Some curious coincidences are observable between the ancient monuments and the sepulchral tumuli or *barrows* discovered in Essex

the upper Indus and the Hydaspes (Behut or Jhelum), the westermost of the five great tributaries, from which the whole eastern basin of the Indus, down to their confluence, is called the Punjaub (five rivers).

From Bactria and Sogdiana, as also from the neighbouring Scythian hordes, auxiliaries were raised to the amount of 70,000 persons, of whom 30,000 were youths, levied to serve at once as hostages and soldiers. Altogether the Greek force (exclusive of a corps of 10,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry left in Bactria, under the command of the satrap Amyntas) consisted of 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. After crossing the Paropamisan chain, in ten days, (apparently by a different route to that which had been taken in the winter of 329,) through a pass described by Arrian as "high, narrow, and short," the troops reached Alexandria ad Caucasum, and from thence proceeded to a town named Nysa,* which would appear to have been the same city alleged to have been founded by the Indian Bacchus, or Dionysus. The inhabitants are said to have dexterously turned Alexander's claim to be considered as a son of Jupiter to advantage by entreating him to spare and protect the city founded by his "celestial brother;" and as an evidence of the truth of their statement, they pointed to the abundance of vines, wild and uncultivated, growing in their valleys, and to the ivy and laurel first planted by the hand of Bacchus, of which the Macedonians had, until then, seen none since they left Greece. Alexander offered sacrifices in honour of his divine predecessor, and permitted Nysa, which is described as an aristocratical republic under a discreet ruler named Acuphis, to retain its liberty and laws.† On proceeding to the banks of the river Cophenes, he was met at his own request by Taxiles, and several chiefs from the region west of the Indus; they brought him presents, and promised to gratify his desire for trained elephants, by the gift of all they possessed, which, however, amounted only to five-and-twenty. The army was then divided; one portion, under Hephæstion and Perdiccas, took the direct road to the Indus, with orders there to prepare a bridge of boats for the passage of the main body, which Alexander conducted by a more northern route over difficult mountain paths, to meet the hardy and warlike tribes, mentioned by Arrian under the names of the Aspii, the Thryæi, and the Arsæi. In a contest with the inhabitants of one of the towns, he was wounded, and the Greeks in their rage (having carried the double walls,) gave no quarter, but slaughtered all without distinction, and reduced the place to ashes. The whole of this campaign in the high lands of Affghanistan was marked by determined bravery on the part of the mountaineers, and sanguinary cruelty on that of the invader, who had no other plan for subduing a people, who desired—not generosity but justice, not to be well governed after his fashion, but to remain independent after their own. In the country of the unoffending Assacenes‡ he behaved with especial barbarity. Having encamped before their capital, Mazagu, he made three determined attacks with battering-engines on different days, during which he was wounded in the leg and arm; the result of a fourth assault was yet doubtful, when the Affghan chief was slain, and the garrison were suffered to capitulate on the condition that 7,000 mercenaries from the Punjaub, who had been engaged in the service of the deceased leader, should join the Greek army. They accordingly marched out and encamped on a hill for the night, but evinced so much reluctance at the thought of fighting against

and other parts of England, which contained, like those of the Punjaub, various bronze urns, enclosing fragments of burnt bones, coins, glass, and even a similar brown or light yellow liquid or paste. Virgil, also, in the *Æneid* (vi., 215), describes the Roman custom of burning the dead; milk, wine, blood, and other *munera*, supposed to be grateful to the deceased, were poured on or mingled with the ashes, and money was usually added to defray the fee of Charon for ferrying the departed spirit across the Styx.

* The locality of the different towns and rivers mentioned by Alexander's historians, is much contested by modern geographers. The site of Nysa is pointed out by M. Court, at Ashnagur (whose suburbs are scattered over with vast ruins of unknown date); that of Alexandria ad Caucasum is variously placed at Ghuznee and at a place called Siggan; while the *Cophenes* is supposed to denote either the river formed by the confluence of the *Cabool* with the *Pendjsher*, or else the eastern branch of the *Helmund*, now known as the *Tarnuck*. The reader desirous of understanding the grounds upon which these and other opposite opinions rest, will find them fully discussed by the highest Indian authorities, in the pages of the various Asiatic journals, and in the works of Rennell, Vincent, Elphinstone, Vigne, Burnes, Chesney, Masson, Long, &c.

† Recorded by Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*.

‡ Arrian says they had been subject to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, and subsequently to the Persians. The *Oritæ* are described by the same authority, as a nation whose country extended along the sea-coast for about 150 miles; and who wore the dress and arms of the other Indians, but differed from them in language and manners.

their countrymen, that Alexander, suspecting them of an intention to desert, caused them to be suddenly surrounded and cut to pieces. He then set at nought the capitulation by storming the defenceless city. The strongholds of Ora and Bazira were next reduced, the inhabitants of the latter place fled to a hill-fort on the right bank of the Indus, whose name seems to have been lost by the Greeks in that of Aornus,* a term indicative of its extraordinary height, above the flight of a bird. Here Hercules was said to have been defeated, and Alexander, desirous of excelling the exploits of even fabled heroes, and of proving himself not to be deterred by natural difficulties, proceeded to the attack; passing, it would appear, through the district of Peucelaotis, and taking possession of the chief city, Peucela, whose ruler, Astes, had fallen in the thirty days' siege of the force under Hephæstion and Perdiccas on their march eastward. Aornus he captured by forming a mound across a hollow of no great depth, but of considerable width, which separated a neighbouring hill from the pyramidical rock itself; thus a vantage-ground was gained to the surprise and terror of the besieged, who endeavoured to escape at night-fall, but were pursued with great slaughter into the plains beneath. The accounts given by Arrian of the next steps of Alexander's progress are scarcely reconcileable with those of Diodorus and Curtius; but it appears that he was compelled to return to the mountains to suppress insurrection, and that the people fled before him. He despatched his generals, Nearchus and Antiochus, to scour the country towards the north-west, while he himself opened a road, which no army had ever before trodden, to the banks of the Indus, and on his way captured some of the fugitives, who, among other information, told him that their elephants had been left in the thickets on the west side of the river. These animals having been obtained by the aid of native hunters, vessels were constructed, in which the force dropped down the stream to the bridge prepared for them by Hephæstion and Perdiccas, with the assistance of Taxiles, who came out with his army and elephants to meet Alexander on his arrival at the eastern shore of the Indus, and conducted him with much pomp to his capital.† Taxiles appears to have been very desirous to obtain the assistance of the

* Aornus was probably a general name for a stockaded mountain, such as that already mentioned in Bactria, and most likely Hellenized from the Sanscrit Awara, or Awarana, an enclosure. Its position is considered by some authorities to have been a little distance above Attock, while others consider it to be found at Peshawer, in front of the Khyber Pass, and reconcile this opinion with the statement of Arrian and Strabo, that the Indus flowed at the base of Aornus, by declaring that these writers evidently deemed the Cabool river the true Indus.

† It seems to have been during his stay at Taxila that Alexander had first the opportunity of gratifying his curiosity respecting the doctrine and practice of the Hindoo ascetics called gymnosophists by the Greeks. At Corinth, struck by the imperturbable stoicism of a man, who had nothing to ask, but that he should stand from betwixt him and the sun, he is reported to have exclaimed, that were he not Alexander he would wish to be Diogenes. In India he must have witnessed a far more interesting spectacle. The Greek philosopher had no higher object in his dogged abstinence from the comforts of civilized life than to place himself beyond the reach of what, in his blindness, he called chance or fortune; but the Brahmins sought, by self-inflicted tortures, and unceasing exposure to the severe influences of their burning sky, to win by slow degrees a release from mortality, and absorption into the Divine essence. Alexander was utilitarian in all his views; it might therefore be supposed he could have little sympathy with men whom he might have considered as visionary enthusiasts, but he was also extremely superstitious: his great intellect groped in darkness, unenlightened by any ray of revealed truth, which could show him the fundamental error of striving to found a universal, or at least an Asiatic empire, by means of unlimited conquests, gained at a terrible cost of blood, tears, and moral degradation. Still he was no mere conqueror; it was not simply a selfish ambition that prompted him—far less any brutal, or rather demoniacal, love of fighting. He ever strove to conciliate strange nations, by respecting their religious observances, as the best means of retaining permanent dominion over them; and it was probably a high political motive which rendered him solicitous to converse with the Brahmins (or rather Yogees), fifteen of whom were congregated in a grove near the city. The eldest and most honoured, called by the Greeks, Dandamis, refused either to visit or write to Alexander, declared (according to Strabo) to a total disbelief of his alleged Divine origin, and expressed equal indifference to persuasions or threats; gifts he needed not, and he added, alluding to the Hindoo doctrine of metempsychosis—"If he should put me to death, he will only release my soul from this old decrepit body, which will then pass into a freer and purer state; so that I shall suffer nothing by the change." One of the Yogees, named Sphines, called Calanus by the Greeks was, however, prevailed upon to go to Alexander, who, being much pleased with his discourse, carried him with him throughout his expedition, and even back to Persia. Calanus was there attacked with illness; and considering it as a summons from above, being then seventy-three years of age, prepared to terminate his life. Alexander having vainly laboured to dissuade him, caused a magnificent funeral pile to be raised, which Calanus, though weak with pain and illness, ascended with unfaltering resolution, singing hymns of prayer and praise. He then calmly composed his limbs, and without moving, was consumed in the sight of the king and the whole army.—(*Vide* Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch.)

Greeks in carrying on war with a neighbouring and powerful prince, whose proper name has not descended to us, but only that of his family, Porus.* Alexander sent a peremptory summons, requiring tribute and allegianee, to which the Indian prinee replied that he would come to the borders of his kingdom to meet the invader, but it should be in arms. His kinsman, a neighbouring ruler of the same name, whether from jealousy or induced by the munificent presents made to Taxiles, despatched an embassy with offers of submission. It is probable that Taxiles received an enlargement of his territory by the annexation of some of the newly-conquered districts on the west of the Indus; but the priee paid by him was nothing less than the loss of liberty, since a Greek satrap was appointed for this part of India, and a Greek garrison stationed in his chief city. With forces strengthened by 5,000 Indian recruits, led by Taxiles, Alexander resumed his mareh in the middle of the year 326; for so it would appear from the statement of Aristobulus, that he experienced the commencement of the summer rains, which are not known to fall in the Punjaub before June or July. On his road to the Hydaspes he was interrupted, in a defile through which his road lay, by a nephew of Porus named Spittacus, or Spitaces, with a body of troops. These he soon dispersed, and arrived without further opposition on the right bank of the river, where he beheld the hostile army drawn up on the opposite side, the intervening stream being deep, rapid, and, at the time he reached it, probably little less than a mile broad. Although well provided with boats, rafts, and floats, Alexander was too prudent to attempt forcing a passage in the faee of an equal if not superior enemy, and had therefore recourse to stratagem to disarm the vigilanee of his antagonist. After making excursions in various directions, as if uncertain where to attempt crossing, he ordered magazines of provisions to be formed, as if for a long sojourn, and gave out that he intended awaiting the termination of the monsoon, whieh it is probable he would have really done but for intelligence that auxiliaries were on their way to strengthen the enemy. Night after night, bodies of cavalry rode noisily up or down the right bank, and Porus repeatedly drew up his elephants and proceeded towards the quarter whence the elamour arose; until, wearied by false alarms, he paid no attention to the movements upon the opposite shore. Alexander having selected a spot a day's march distanee above the eamp,† where the river made a westerly bend, and a thickly-wooded island divided the stream, left a strong division at the first station with orders to remain there until the elephants should be withdrawn from their menacing position, in which case they were to attempt the passage forthwith. The same command was given at the series of posts (horse and foot), stationed between the eamp and the place of embarkation. Here preparations were made, under cover of the wood which clothed the projeeting bank of the river, the din of axes and hammers, which might otherwise have attracted attention, (notwithstanding the feints previously resorted to) being overpowered by pealing thunder and torrents of rain, that lasted through the night hours, but ceased at daybreak. Alexander set out, aeeompanied by Perdiccas, Lysimaehus, and Seleucus, with the flower of the Macedonian eavalry, and the Bactrian, Sogdian, and Scythian auxiliaries. In passing the wooded island before mentioned, they were first seen by the Indians, who immediately gave the alarm. The invaders landed, on what they thought to be the river bank, but really on another island, separated from the main by a ehannel swollen by floods into a formidable stream, whieh however proved fordable, and the whole division was, after some delay, landed, and drawn up in order of battle. The eavalry numbered about 5,000, the infantry probably nearly 20,000. Porus, perceiving

* Tod says that Porus was a corruption of Pooru, the patronymic of a branch of the royal Lunar race (*Rajast'han*, vol. i.); and Rennell states that the predecessor of the prince in question reigned in Canoge or Canouj, on the Ganges, which, according to Ferishta, was then the capital of all Hindoostan (*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 54).

† The precise spots at which the army encamped upon the Hydaspes, and crossed it, are not ascertained. Strabo points out that Alexander marched as near as possible to the mountains, and this useful indication is considered by Masson to establish his having followed the high road from Attock to Jhelum, which probably was then as now the most northerly of the Punjaub routes, and the one almost exclusively practicable during the monsoons. Consequently Porus took up his position on the eastern bank of the Jhelum at the point to which he knew Alexander must come, that is near the present village of that name, in whose locality, the sites of Nicæa and Bucephala, (though on different sides of the river) must be sought for. Rennell places the encampment opposite where the fortress of Rotas afterwards stood; and Vincent (who supposes the wooded island passed by Alexander to have been Jamad) about twenty-eight miles below Rotas.

that Alexander's tent remained in its place, and that the main body were apparently still at the encampment, regarded his actual approach as a stratagem to tempt him from an advantageous position, and merely sent forward his son or brother Hages with 2,000 horse and 120 war chariots, whom Alexander charged fiercely, with the whole of his cavalry. Hages and some 400 of his followers were slain, and the chariots, which had been with great difficulty brought over ground turned into a swamp by the rains, were all captured. Porus, on learning this disastrous commencement, left a part of his elephants to contest the passage of the Greeks stationed under Craterus at the encampment, and advanced to the decisive conflict, with a force (according to Arrian) of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 300 chariots. Beyond the swampy ground, near the river, lay an open sandy tract, affording firm footing, and here he awaited Alexander's approach; his 200 elephants, bearing huge wooden towers, filled with armed men, being drawn up in front of the line, at intervals of a hundred feet, occupied with infantry; while one-half of the cavalry was posted at each flank, and the chariots (each containing six armed men) in front of them. After a long and quick march, Alexander arrived in sight with his cavalry, and halted to allow time for the foot to join him. Observing the disposition of the enemy, he instantly apprehended the necessity of depriving Porus of the advantage he must obtain from the almost invincible strength of the elephants and chariots when brought to bear in a direct attack, as well as the superior numbers of the opposing infantry, by a skilful use of the mounted troops, in which his strength lay. An attack on the enemy's left wing, would, he foresaw, draw the cavalry into action for its protection. Therefore, ordering the horse-bowmen to advance, he followed up the slight disorder caused by their arrows, by charging with the rest of the cavalry; while the Indian horse from the right being brought up, as foreseen, Cœnus, in accordance with previous orders, charged them in the rear, and the Macedonian phalanx advanced to take advantage of the confusion that ensued. The engagement became very complex; the elephants hemmed in and maddened by wounds, turned their fury indiscriminately against friend and foe, until many were killed, and the rest, spent with pain and toil, ceased to be formidable. Another general charge of horse and foot was made by the Greeks; the troops of Porus were completely routed, and fled, pursued by Craterus and the division from the right bank, who, having by this time effected their passage, engaged with ardour in the sanguinary chase. As is usual with Alexander's historians,* his loss is stated at an extremely small, and that of the enemy, at a proportionably large amount. The more moderate statement of Diodorus Siculus, gives the number of the slain on the side of Porus, at 12,000, including two of his sons and great part of his chief officers, besides 9,000 taken prisoners. The loss of the Macedonians is given at less than 1,000. Porus himself, mounted on an elephant, to the last directed the movements of his forces; and, although wounded in the shoulder, (his body was defended by a corslet of curious workmanship which was proof against all missiles,) would not retire until his troops were hopelessly dispersed; then he turned his elephant for flight, but, being a conspicuous object, was speedily captured, and carried, while senseless from loss of blood, into the conqueror's presence. Alexander, who had observed his gallant bearing during a conflict of seven or eight hours' duration, asked him how he desired to be treated, but could obtain no other answer than "as a king;" and, on observing that "this a king must do for his own sake," Porus replied that, "nevertheless in that all was included." The quick perception of character, which was one of Alexander's distinguishing and most serviceable qualities, taught him that Porus might prove a valuable and trustworthy auxiliary. He reinstated him in royal dignity, added considerably to his dominions, and brought about a reconciliation, in form at least, with Taxiles. On the Hydaspes or Jhelum, the conqueror founded two cities; one near the field of battle, named Nicæa, and another near his landing-place, named Bucephala, in honour of his famous horse, which, having accompanied him thus far, sank from fatigue, wounds, and old age, in the hour of victory. Craterus was left to superintend the building of these cities; and the main body were allowed a month's rest, probably chiefly on account of the continuance of the heavy rains. Alexander himself, with a select division of horse and foot, pursued his aggressive march through the rich and populous valleys on the north of the

* The details recorded by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch, vary considerably, but the general tenor is the same.

territory of Porus, to the river Acesines or (Chenab,)* receiving, according to the Greek historians, the submission of thirty-seven cities—none containing less than 5,000 inhabitants,—all of which he annexed to the kingdom of Porus. The younger Porus, called the coward, fled from his dominions, from the fear that the favour shown to his kinsman portended his ruin, and took refuge at the court of Nanda, the reigning monarch of the Prachii or Prasii—who swayed nearly the whole of Eastern India. Ambisares, the king or chief of a tribe of mountaineers, and Doxarcus, another native rajah or prince are mentioned by Arrian, as tendering their allegiance; the former sent a present of forty elephants. After crossing the *Hydraotes* (*Ravee*), Alexander traversed the country of the Cathæans to attack Sangala, a city of great strength and importance, which seems to have occupied nearly the same site as the modern capital of the Sikh monarchy, Lahore, on a branch of the Ravee, near the edge of a small lake.† The Cathæans or Catheri, (supposed, by Sanscrit scholars, to be a corruption of Cshatra, a mixed race, sprung from females of the warrior class, and men of inferior cast,)‡ had confederated with the Malli and Sudraeæ, or Oxydraeæ, that is, the people of Moultan and Outch. On approaching Sangala, the Greeks found the Cathæans entrenched on an isolated hill, behind a triple barrier of waggons. Alexander, at the head of the phalanx, forced the three lines, and carried the place by storm; but with the loss of 1,200 killed and wounded. This vigorous resistance was revenged by sanguinary carnage—17,000 of the Cathæans were slain, 70,000 made prisoners, and Sangala razed to the ground. Despatching Porus (who had arrived during the siege with about 5,000 men) to place garrisons in the Cathæan towns, Alexander continued to advance to the south-east, received the submission of two princes, called by the Greeks Sopithes§ and Phegelus, and arrived at the banks of the *Hyphasis* (*Beyah*), just above its junction with the *Hesudrus* (*Sutlej*). The limit of his eastern progress was at length reached, for, even under his leadership, the weary and home-sick army would proceed no farther. He could have given them, at best, but unsatisfactory grounds of encouragement to continue their course. The narrow boundaries assigned by the geographers of the day to India, and the eastern side of the earth, were manifestly incorrect; the ocean which he had been taught to believe was separated by no very vast distance from the banks of the Indus, had receded, as he advanced to an immeasurable distance; and he had learned that beyond the Hydaspes a desert, more extensive than any yet encountered, parted the plains of the Punjaub from the region watered by the tributaries of the Ganges—a river superior to the Indus, having on its banks the capital of a great monarchy, that of the Prasii and Gangaridæ, whose king could bring into the field 200,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and several thousand elephants. The king himself is however represented to have been looked upon as an upstart and a usurper; and Alexander might probably have hoped to be enabled to carry out his object, by similar divisions among the natives to those which had materially aided him in his partial conquest of the Punjaub. The very dangers and difficulties of the attempt were but incitements to one whose object was universal empire—to be attained at the hazard of life itself, which he unhesitatingly imperilled in every battle. With passionate eloquence he reminded the Macedonians that the Hydraotes had already become the limit of their empire, which extended westward to the Ægean Sea, and northward to the river Jaxartes; and he urged them to cross the Hyphasis; then, having added the rest of Asia to their empire, to descend the Ganges, and sail round Africa to the pillars of Hercules.—(Arrian, lib. v., cap. 25.)

Finding this appeal without effect, or at least overborne by the recollection of the fatigues and privations undergone during the preceding campaign in the rainy season, Alexander angrily declared that he should proceed, attended only by those who desired to accompany him; the rest might return home, and say that they had forsaken their king in the midst of enemies. The silence and deep gloom which pervaded the camp at length convinced Alexander that no considerable portion of the army could be prevailed upon to cross the Hy-

* Alexander called it Acesines; the ancient native name was Chandrabagha—the moon's gift.

† Burnes, vol. i., p. 156.—Masson does not consider the Sangala of Arrian to have denoted the Indian city of Sagala, whose site is now indicated by that of Lahore, but places it at Hareepah.

‡ Masson dissents, believing them to have been the Catti, a nomadic Scythian tribe.

§ According to Arrian, Sopithes submitted in the descent of the fleet from Bucephala, whence three days' journey brought Alexander to the territory of this prince, where Strabo says there were famous salt

phasis. He found either a pretext or a reason for yielding to the general wish, in the unfavourable auspices which attended the sacrifices offered for the purpose of consulting the gods respecting his future advance; and, after erecting twelve colossal towers or altars, in token of his gratitude for having been brought thus far safe and victorious, and reviving, by horse-races and gymnastic exercises, the drooping spirits of his troops, he conferred on Porus the government of the country towards the Hyphasis,* and commenced retracing his steps. At the Acesines he found the city which Hephæstion had been ordered to build, ready to receive a colony, and there he left the disabled mercenaries, and as many natives of the neighbouring districts, as were willing to join them. At the Hydaspes, he repaired the injuries caused by floods to Nicæa and Bucephala, and was reinforced from Greece by 6,000 horse and 7,000 infantry.† The fleet, (comprising 2,000 vessels of various kinds, whereof eighty were war galleys, which part of the army had been employed all the summer in constructing, while the rest, wanted for transport and provisions, had probably been seized from the people of the country,) was completed and manned, and the command entrusted to Nearchus. Having divided his army into four corps, of which the main body, with about 200 elephants, were to advance along the eastern bank, Alexander himself embarked, and proceeded without impediment to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, where, owing to the narrow channel and high banks between which the united rivers were then pent up, rapid and strong eddies were formed, which so astonished the sailors as to deprive them of the self-command necessary to fulfil the instructions previously given by the Indian pilots. Several of the long galleys were much shattered, two sank with the greater part of their crews, but the shorter and rounder vessels sustained no injury.‡ A headland on the right bank afforded shelter to the fleet, which Alexander left to undergo the necessary repairs, while he proceeded on an inland expedition to the westward against the Seevi or Saivas, a people evidently thus named from their worship of the second member of the Brahminical Triad, whose symbol they marked upon their cattle. Then, crossing the river, he marched eastward against the Malli and Sudracæ, the latter of whom appear from their designation to have been derived from the Soodra caste, while among the former the Brahmins decidedly predominated. They did not intermarry, and had little or no friendly intercourse. The sudden danger which threatened their independence had driven them to a partial junction, and their aggregate forces are stated at the lowest at 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 700 chariots, but want of unanimity in the choice of a leader had prevented their combination. The Malli especially seem to have relied confidently on the strength of their fortified towns, and on the natural advantages of their peninsula, which was protected to the north by a desert of considerable extent. As it was on this side that they might be expected to feel most secure, Alexander struck across the desert into the heart of the country with a division of light troops, while two separate corps, under Hephæstion and Ptolemy, traversed it in other directions to intercept the fugitives he might drive before him. By marching day and night, with a very short intermission, he appeared early on the second morning before one of the strongholds, in which, as likely to be last attacked, many of the natives had taken refuge. A great number were surprised unarmed without the walls, many were put to the sword, the rest fled into the town, which, notwithstanding a gallant defence, was speedily stormed, and the people massacred without distinction. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages forsook them, and some fled to the Hydraotes, pursued in a forced night march by Alexander, who, on coming up to the ford, made considerable slaughter among those who had not yet crossed, and then, plunging in the stream, pursued the fugitives on the opposite side. Many took refuge in another fortified town, which is described by the Greeks as if inhabited by Brahmins only, and these are mentioned as a different race from the Malli, who fled to them for shelter. Here the most determined resistance was offered; when the besieged could no longer defend their walls against the

mines;—this seems to refer to the Salt range of Pindi Waden Khan.

* According to Arrian (lib. vi., cap. 2), by the final arrangement of the affairs of the northern Punjaub, Porus gained a fresh addition of territory, and became lord of (in all) seven nations and 2,000 cities.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. ix., cap. 3.

‡ The chief obstructions appear to have been worn away, for the passage is no longer formidable.

superior skill of the assailants, they retreated to the citadel, and this being stormed, set fire to their houses; and almost all, to the number of 5,000, perished fighting, or in the flames. The last memorable contest with the Malli, occurred in the taking of their capital, which Burnes considers to be represented by Moultan, but Rennell supposes to have been at Tolumba, nearer the Hydraotes. Having dispersed the hostile army drawn up on the high and steep banks of this river, Alexander encircled the town with his cavalry, and the next morning commenced the attack on two sides. The besieged retreated to the citadel, and the king and his troops, cutting their way with the hatchet through a postern, arrived at the foot of the wall. Here Alexander eagerly called for scaling ladders, but these, from the supposition that all resistance was over, had been mostly left behind. Two or three were however brought; seizing the first, Alexander fixed it himself, mounted and gained the top of the wall, which it seems was narrow and without battlements. The soldiers, alarmed for his safety, crowded after him with such impatience that the ladders broke with their weight, and Alexander, in his splendid armour, with but three companions, stood a mark for the enemy's missiles from the nearest towers and the adjacent parts of the fortress. The Macedonians beneath, entreated him to throw himself into their arms. He hesitated a moment, but to turn his back upon his foes, even under such circumstances as these, was a step he could not bring himself to take; and, probably remembering that his guards would dare a thousand deaths for his rescue, he leapt down into the citadel, and alighting on his feet, took his stand against the wall, sheltered also by the trunk and spreading boughs of a tree. Here he defended himself, until joined by his three associates, one of whom (Abreas) speedily received a mortal wound from an arrow, in the face. Almost immediately afterwards another arrow pierced Alexander's corslet, lodging deep in the right breast; and, after a short struggle, fainting through loss of blood, he sank upon his shield. His remaining companions, Peucestes and Leonnatus, though both wounded, stood over him until they were joined by their friends, who, by various expedients, (such as driving pegs into the clay walls,) had climbed the top, and forced a gate from the inside, through which numbers poured in, carried off their king, and in their fury slaughtered every man, woman, and child without exception. For some time the conqueror lay in his tent, reduced to the last extremity by the great loss of blood which followed the extraction of the barbed steel, while deep anxiety prevailed in the camp—inspired partly by true affection, and partly by fear for themselves, in the event of the death of the only man they believed capable of leading them back safely through the strange lands they had traversed as victors. At length Alexander rallied; during his tedious convalescence, such of the Malli and Sudracæ as had remained in arms, tendered submission. The envoys consisted of above 100 of their chief men; they were persons of lofty stature and bearing, all rode in chariots, were clad in linen robes embroidered with purple and gold, and bore magnificent presents. According to Curtius, a tribute of the same amount as they had previously paid the Arachosians was imposed upon them; and a thousand of their bravest warriors were demanded as hostages, or, if they were willing, to serve in the Greek army. These were immediately sent, together with 500 chariots as a free gift, and, among other rarities, several tamed lions and tigers. Alexander, pleased with their readiness, accepted the chariots and sent back the hostages. At the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus, he ordered a city,* with docks and arsenals, to be constructed; and sailed down the latter river to the chief place of a people, called, by the Greeks, Sudracæ or Sogdi. Here he planted a colony; changed the name to Alexandria, built an arsenal, refitted a part of his fleet, and, proceeding southward, entered the rich and fertile territories of a powerful ruler, whose real name has been apparently perverted into that of Musicanus. This prince proffered allegiance, which Alexander accepted, but ordered a fortress to be built in his capital, which was occupied by a Macedonian garrison; thence, marching to the westward, he advanced against a chief, spoken of under the name of Oxyeanus, or Porticanus, who was con-

* It must be remembered that cities, so called, are very easily founded in the east. For this purpose a fort or castle, and walls of brick or mud, marking out the limits of "the Pettah" or town suffice for a commencement, and population soon follows, brought either by compulsion or attracted by the natural advantages of the site, to erect there the mud hovels which form their ordinary dwellings.

sidered to have held himself suspiciously aloof, and stormed two of his cities—in one of which, Oxycanus was himself taken or slain; upon this all the other towns submitted without resistance. In the adjacent high-lands, a chief, called Sambus, whose territory is now known as Sinde, fled from his capital (according to Arrian) at the approach of the invader; who took possession of his elephants and treasure, and proceeded to capture a town which ventured to oppose him, at the instigation of some Brahmins, whom he slew. The same influence, during Alexander's absence, had been exerted in the court of Musicanus, and he revolted, in an evil hour, for himself and his country: Being taken prisoner he was crucified with the leading Brahmins, and the chief towns razed to the ground, or subjected to the stern surveillance of foreign garrisons. The submission of the king of Pattala, named or entitled Mœris, whose rule extended over the Delta of the Indus, completed Alexander's command of that river. At Pattala, (thought to be now represented either by Tatta or Allore,) he immediately prepared to fortify a citadel, form a harbour, and build docks sufficient for a large fleet, and likewise to dig wells in the neighbouring districts, where there was great scarcity of water, to render the country habitable, and suitable for the passage of troops or travellers. According to a modern writer, (Droysen,) Alexander's object in so doing was nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India, and to open it for caravans from the countries on the Ganges and from the Deccan; but even supposing him to have obtained sufficient geographical knowledge for the formation of this plan, he had no present means of executing it, and must have contented himself meanwhile in surveying the mouths and delta of the Indus, and taking measures for the establishment of commercial intercourse with the West. With a squadron of fast sailing galleys he prepared to explore the western branch of the river to the sea; but the voyage proved disastrous, the native pilots brought from Pattala made their escape, and on the second day a violent gale meeting a rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell in which most of the galleys were severely injured and many went to pieces. While the shipwrights were engaged in repairing this misfortune a few light troops were sent up the country in search of pilots, who being obtained, conducted Alexander safely almost to the mouth, when the wind blew so hard from the sea, that he took refuge in a canal (*nullah*) pointed out by them. Here the Macedonians, first beheld the phenomenon called the "Bore," and witnessed with extreme consternation the sudden rush of a vast volume of water from the ocean up the river-channel, with such violence as to shatter the galleys not previously firmly imbedded in the mud. After again refitting, the fleet was moored at an island named Cilluta, but Alexander, with the best sailors, proceeded to another isle, which lay beyond in the ocean. Here he offered sacrifices to various deities; then, putting out in the open sea, to satisfy himself that no land lay within view to the southward, he celebrated different rites in honour of the sea-god Neptune, whose proper realm he had now entered. The victims, and the golden vessels in which the libations had been offered, having been thrown into the deep, he rejoined the squadron, and returned by the same arm of the Indus to Pattala.

The navigation of the rivers had employed about nine months; and nearly four appear to have been spent in and near Pattala. It was toward the end of August 325 B.C.,* when the preparations were completed for the departure of the fleet and army from the Indus; the former, under Nearchus the Cretan, being destined to undertake a voyage of discovery to the Persian Gulf; the latter, under Alexander, to march along the coast—an enterprise of little less danger, in which, according to tradition, the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus had perished almost to a man. Of the real difficulties of the route Alexander had probably but a vague conception, but he was incited to encounter them, by a desire to provide for the exigencies of the fleet, and to explore and consolidate a portion of the empire which he had hitherto at most but nominally subjected. The force of either armament is not recorded. On invading India it would appear the army had consisted of 120,000 men, and while there had received reinforcements; allowing therefore for the numbers lost or left behind in garrisons and colonies, and for the division previously sent from Pattala under Craterus, (through Arachosia to Carmania,) probably, at least

* Dr. Vincent in his *Voyage of Nearchus*, vol. i. p. 180, fixes the time of departure at a year earlier, but I have preferred following Thirlwall's reading or rather correction of Arrian's chronology.

50,000 remained under the immediate command of the king. Respecting the squadron under Nearchus, we have no other guide than the list of the thirty-three galleys before referred to as equipped on the Hydaspes; many of these were fitted out by individuals at their own cost, for it would appear that at that period the finances of their leader were at a very low ebb, probably owing to the unbounded munificence with which he lavished upon his friends what he had acquired by the sword. Some weeks had yet to elapse before the trade-winds would set in from the north-east, and so become favourable to the voyage. The departure of the army was not however delayed on this account, and Alexander set out on his return to the West, leaving the admiral and fleet to follow at leisure. His route need be here but briefly noticed. Crossing the chain of mountains which descends west of the Indus from the Paropamisus to the sea, he entered a region surrounded on three sides by lofty ranges, traversed by a river called the *Arabius*, (*Poorallee* or river of *Sonmeany*,) which separated the territory of two independent tribes—the Arabitæ and Oritæ, the former of whom fled to the adjacent desert, but the latter, who were more civilised and their lands better cultivated, offered a formidable resistance, fighting desperately with poisoned arrows. Their country was however overrun by the cavalry; and, in what seems to have been the largest of the villages in which they lived, named Rambacia, Alexander planted a colony. Thence advancing through a difficult pass in the western mountains, he arrived at about the beginning of October in the wild barren region of Gedrosia, the southern Mekran; the whole coast of which as far as Cape Jask, is called by the Greeks, the land of the Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters. The heat, though beginning to subside, was still excessive; the troops generally moved during the night, but often at daybreak were obliged to prolong their weary march under a burning sun, until they should reach the next watering-place. Yet their road seems to have seldom diverged more than two or three days' journey from the sea—being frequently within sight of it—without crossing any part of the Great Sandy Desert, bounded by the mountains of southern Mekran; except perhaps for a short distance near the confines of Gedrosia and Carmania (Kerman). In the latter fruitful* and well-watered province, Alexander was soon after his arrival joined by Craterus and his division, and all anxiety respecting Nearchus was subsequently dispelled by tidings that the admiral had landed on the coast within five days' march of the camp. He had been compelled by the hostility of the natives at Pattala, to start before the proper season had arrived; and, though he waited four-and-twenty days on the Arabite coast, three of his vessels were afterwards lost in the adverse monsoon. On the coast of the Oritæ† he met Leonnatus, who had been left in Rambacia to furnish him with a ten days' supply of corn, and who had been meanwhile engaged in a sharp conflict with the natives. Nearchus does not appear to have lighted on any of the magazines stored at various points by Alexander for his use; but, after manifold hardships and perils from the dangers of an unknown sea, the barrenness of the coast, the hostility of the people, and the despondency of his own crews, he at length with the aid of a Gedrosian pilot reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and eventually landed near the mouth of the river *Anamis* (*Ibrahim*), not far to the west of the island of Ormuz. These happy events were celebrated by a solemn festival and triumphal procession—enlivened, as usual, by gymnastic games, musical and poetical contests, which probably gave rise to the idea of the march through Carmania having been one continued Bacchanalian revel. The king urged Nearchus to allow some other officer to conduct the fleet to the mouth of the Tigris and not expose himself to further danger and fatigue; but he would not consent to let another complete his glorious expedition, and rejoined the squadron with orders to meet Alexander at Susa. As it was winter the main body of the army proceeded thither along the Persian Gulf where the climate was mild, and Alexander with some light troops and cavalry took the upper road through Persepolis. At Susa we take leave of this great man; his career so far as India was concerned was quite ended, indeed life itself was fast ebbing away. In the spring of 323 B.C., in the second year after his return to Babylon, while planning a fresh capital for his Asiatic empire, he caught a fever in the Mesopotamian marshes, and this disorder being increased by one of the drinking matches

* Strabo says the grapes hung in clusters three feet long. † See note to page 27.

which disgraced his court, abruptly terminated an eventful career at thirty-two years of age, the solace of his last days being to hear Nearchus relate "the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean."* The long and sanguinary contests which ensued among his generals,—commencing while his body lay unembalmed and ending not until the majority of those disputants themselves, as well as all of his kin, (including his half-brother and successor Arridæus, his wives Statira and Roxana, his posthumous son Alexander, and his beloved though wicked and intriguing mother Olympias,) had fallen victims to the treacherous plots formed by the majority of them against each other—have no place in these pages. The history and triumphs of Alexander have been narrated at some length, for the sake of showing the manner in which he was led on, first by the pursuit of Darius, and afterwards of Bessus, to Bactria and to the verge of India. His progress is no mere matter of antiquarian research,† but exercises an important bearing on the political question of the present time, respecting the possible advance of an European army through central Asia to the Indus, or *via* Syria, the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf, to the shores of the Indian Ocean; a subject which will be discussed when examining the motives of the British incursions into Afghanistan, in 1839–40.

In the history of the civilized world, the epoch of Alexander would ever be memorable were it only for his exploits in India, since by them this great country was first placed as it were within reach, and some firm ground afforded to European geographers whereon to set foot in future investigations. The Greek historians though often contradictory, and censurable in many respects, have yet recorded much valuable information respecting the Indians (as they term the Hindoos), the accuracy of which is attested by the ancient records revealed to us by the labours of oriental students, and further by the striking resemblance which their descriptions bear, even after the lapse of two thousand years, to the existing characteristics of the inhabitants of the countries then visited. Thus Arriau, whose account of Ancient India is unquestiouably the most to be relied on of any now extaut, notices among other points the slender form of the Hindoos, the classes or sects into which they were divided, and the prohibition of intermarriage, widow buruing,‡ perpetuation of trades in families, vegetable diet, faces streaked with colours, men wearing earrings, veils covering the head and shoulders, parti-coloured shoes, umbrellas carried only over principal personages, cotton manufactures of great fineness and whiteness, two-handed swords, and other matters. The people appear to have been extraordinarily numerous, and to have made considerable progress in the arts of civilised life. Their bravery was strikingly manifest; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the numbers recorded as having fallen in their engagement with Alexander, are as usual incredibly greater on their side than

* Langhorne's *Translation of Plutarch's Life of Alexander*, p. 218.

† It may be here well to observe, that in the foregoing brief sketch of Alexander's march, written for general readers, no attempt has been made to enter upon the discussion of the disputed localities at which he conquered or founded cities. One such point would involve as much space as can here be devoted to the whole march—at least, if the varying opinions of the several authorities ancient and modern, were to be fairly and fully stated. I have, therefore (with some slight exceptions), merely given the probable sites, leaving the reader to prosecute further inquiries in the pages of the oriental scholars already repeatedly named. It is greatly to be regretted that the works of none of the primary historians have descended to us, save some fragments preserved by their successors. Of these last, Arrian, who wrote in the early part of the second century B.C., is recognized as the most trustworthy, though his bald outline contrasts forcibly with the more highly-coloured pictures of Quintus Curtius, who seems to have followed Alexander's campaigns with much diligence. Strabo also is a most valuable authority on this as on other geographical questions. Yet the loss of the writings of Bæton or Biton the authorised recorder of the marches, is irreparable, (especially when we consider the importance attached by Alexander to accurate geographical information) as also those of the first Ptolemy, and of Apollodorus the famed historian of Bactria. No conclusive opinion can be formed regarding the knowledge possessed by the Hindoos of this invasion, until we are better acquainted with the records still stored up and hidden from us in various places. Thus, the literary treasures of the libraries of Patan (a city in Rajpootana) of Jessulmer (a town north-west of Joudpore) Cambay, and the Thibetian monasteries remain to be explored, as also many other valuable MS. collections, including those of the travelling Jain and Boodhist bishops. According to Tod and other writers, Alexander is known in India under the name of *Eseander Dhulcarnein* (two-horned), in allusion to his dominions in what they considered the eastern and western extremities of the earth. The rajahs of Chittoor are also said to boast of descent from the sovereign termed Porus who opposed the Macedonian conqueror.

‡ In the country of Taxiles, but only however as an exceptional instance.

his; yet he lost a larger proportion of troops in battle with them than had previously fallen in the Persian war. The office of the husbandman was invariably held sacred among the Hindoos, he was never disturbed in his labours, and to root up or wilfully injure growing crops was a breach of a recognised natural law no native prince would have ventured to commit. On the whole the impression of the Indian character left on the mind of the Greeks was decidedly favourable; the people were described as sober, moderate, peaceable, singularly truthful, averse to slavery in any form, and attached to liberal municipal institutions.

The productions of India had by tedious routes (which it will be necessary to point out in a subsequent section, when depicting the present state of their commerce), long found a ready market in Europe. The desire for them now increased tenfold. The foresight of Alexander was fully vindicated by the rapidity with which the Egyptian Alexandria began, under the first Ptolemy, to receive and pour forth its full tide of wealth; and Babylon also became a great emporium. His characteristic policy* in freeing the Euphrates and Tigris from the physical impediments to navigation placed by a weak restrictive government, shattered the fetters which had long bound the enterprising spirit of trade in these countries, and enabled it to find vent in the passage opened up with India, both by sea and land.

The cities or military stations placed near the Indus soon languished, for the Europeans left there by the king, on hearing of his death hastened to escape from what they had from the first considered no better than hopeless exile. But commerce had received a powerful stimulus, and cotton and silk manufactures, ivory, gems richly set, costly gums, pepper and cinnamon, dyes and drugs, were poured rapidly into Europe in return for the precious metals,† which entered India in coins of many forms (now vainly sought for by antiquarians), and were there melted down to be shaped into idols, or to deck unhallowed shrines, and be thus stored up to an incalculable extent, to gorge eventually the avarice of the ruthless Mussulmans of a later age.

* Alexander's conquests were intended, as has been repeatedly stated, as a means of carrying out his vast commercial schemes. He hoped out of war to bring peace; and one of his favourite plans to promote this ultimate object was, the founding of several new cities in Asia and in Europe, the former to be peopled with Europeans, and the latter with Asiatics, so that "by intermarriages and exchange of good offices the inhabitants of those two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiments, and become attached to each other with mutual affection."—(Diod. Sic., lib. xviii., c. 4.)

† Pliny, writing in the first century of the Christian era, complains that Rome was exhausted by a

THE GREEK TO THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS.—The king of the Prasii (as the Greeks termed the *Prachi* or *East*) at the time of Alexander's campaign in the Punjaub, was the last Nanda, who, as has been shown, both Greek and Hindoo writers agree in describing as of low birth. He was slain by his successor, Chandra Gupta, or Sandracottus, about 310, B.C., who appears to have spent a short time when a youth in the Macedonian camp, whence he fled to avoid the wrath of Alexander, which he had roused in some unexplained manner. Chandra Gupta was king when Seleucus, to whom in the division of power Syria and the Baetrian and Indian satrapries had fallen, proceeded to claim the sovereignty, though at first under the name of the governorship of these territories. He marched in person to reduce the local authorities to obedience, and flushed with victory proceeded at the head of a considerable force to India, B.C. 303. The brief and conflicting accounts of his progress which have descended to us, indicate that he advanced even to the Ganges, but was deterred from warlike proceedings, either by the necessity of turning back with his strength unimpaired to defend another portion of his dominions attacked by Antigonus, or else by the formidable array drawn out against him by Chandra Gupta, who had previously greatly extended and consolidated his kingdom. The result appears to have been that Seleucus made over to the Hindoo sovereign, not only all the country conquered by Alexander eastward of the Indus, but also that to the westward as far as the river *Arabius;* while Chandra Gupta on his part acknowledged this concession by a present of 500 war chariots. How far Porus and Taxiles, or their successors, were consulted in this proceeding, or how they acted, is not stated; but in their conduct immediately after the king's death, they showed themselves faithful and much attached to the Greeks. A family connection is alleged to have been formed between Seleucus and Chandra Gupta, by the marriage of a daughter of the former with the latter, (who being a Soodra might marry as he pleased;) and it is certain that friendly intercourse existed between them, an ambassador named

Megasthenes having been sent to Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, where he resided many years. It is further stated that the Hindoo monarch had Greek mercenaries in his service, and placed Greek governors in some of his provinces; that during his reign the foreigners were much respected, but afterwards brought general odium upon their nation throughout Western India by their treacherons and cruel rapacity. Their language must have spread and taken root in the land—for according to Masson, one of our best authorities on this head, "there is sufficient testimony that the Greek language was studied and well known by the fashionable and higher classes during the first and second centuries of the Christian Era." The embassy of Dimachus to the son and successor of Chandra Gupta (called Allitrochidas by the Greek writers), is the last transaction recorded between Syrian and Indian monarchs, until the lapse of about 80 years, when Antiochus the Great, after the close of his war with the revolted provinces of Bactria and Parthia, entered India, and made peace with a king named Sophragasenus (supposed to be Asoca), after exacting from him elephants and money.

The descriptions given by Megasthenes,* who had the best means of judging correctly on the subjects of which he wrote, are calculated to convey a high opinion of the wealth and power of the kingdom generally, but especially of Palibothra.† Yet, according to this writer, India comprised no less than 118 independent states; but this however he only gives on hearsay, and, supposing the number to be unexaggerated, we cannot tell how small the territories may have been which this enumeration included.

The Soodra successors of Chandra Gupta certainly exceeded him in power—and in the hyperbolical language of the Puranas, are said to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella."‡ Asoca, the greatest of that line, exercised command over the states to the north of the Nerbudda river; and the edicts§ graven on columns at remote points prove not merely the extent of his dominions but also the civilized character of his government, since they include orders for the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways. And this too was to be done, not only in Asoca's own provinces, but also in others occupied by "the faithful," (meaning the Boodhists, of whom this king was the great patron), "even as far as Tambapanni; (Taprobane, or Ceylon,)" and "moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antiochia Yôna Raja] of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers." An edict found on a rock, and from its shattered state only partially legible, expresses exultation at the extension of the doctrines of Asoca (?) Pryadarsi (especially with regard to sparing the life of animals, which however is not a Boodhist tenet) in foreign countries; and contains a fragment translated thus:—"and the Greek king besides, by whom the chapta (?) kings Turamayo, Gongakena, and Maga."‖ Turamayo was considered by the late Mr. James Prinsep to denote Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., which would establish that the Antiochus referred to in the edict previously quoted, was either the first or the second of that

drain equal to £400,000 per annum, required for the purchase of luxuries—the produce of India, Seres, and Arabia; and Robertson, writing in 1791, says—"India, from the age of Pliny to the present time, has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns."—(*Historical Disquisition*, p. 203.) Since the commencement of the present century, the golden current has changed its course, and flowed with increasing volume from Hindoostan to Britain, not, however, by the channel of commerce merely, but of compulsory tribute, to an extent and in a manner which will be subsequently shown.

* Megasthenes wrote many works, of which only scattered fragments have been preserved. His disposition to exaggerate, and undue love of the marvellous, were urged as reasons for this neglect; but it is to be doubted whether the critics were always competent judges of what they rejected. As it is, enough remains to testify, in connection with existing Hindoo records, ruins, and inscriptions, that the writer was a keen observer, and a valuable witness, although occasionally led into the narration of fables, or at least gross exaggerations.

† Palibothra was described by Megasthenes as being eight miles long, and one and-a-half broad, defended by a deep ditch, and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates. Its site is placed by Rennell at Patna, by D'Anville at Allahabad, and by Wilford at Raj-mehal.

‡ Wilson's *Hindoo Theatre*, vol. iii., p. 14.

§ Similar mandates are inscribed on a rock on Girnar, a mountain in Guzerat; and on a rock at Dhauli in Cuttack on the opposite side of India. They were deciphered by Mr. Prinsep, and are written in Pali, the dialect in which the sacred books of the Boodhists are composed.

‖ At Kapur di Ghari, the entire edict exists in the Arian language, the word translated by Prinsep "Chapta" is there "chatare," *four*, Gongakena reads *Antakana* and Maga, *Maka*.—*Masson.*

name; that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus. It is remarkable that Asoca, in his youth, was governor of Oojein or Malwa, which must therefore have been possessed by his father. The reigning family was succeeded by three other Soodra dynasties, the last of which, the Andras, acceded to power about the beginning of our era; and, according to two Puranas, terminated in Pulimat or Pulomarchish, A.D. 436. By a curious coincidence, the Chinese annals* translated by De Guignes, notice in A.D. 408, the arrival of ambassadors from the Indian prince, Yue-gnai, King of Kia-pi-li, evidently Capili (the birth-place of Boodha or, according to Colonel Sykes, the seventh Boodha, Sakya-muni), which the Chinese have put for all Magadha. Yue-gnai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andras at the period referred to. A confused enumeration of dynasties succeed, with little attempt at historical order, from which a foreign invasion, followed by a long period of disorder, has been inferred, though perhaps not on sufficient grounds. At length, after an interval of several centuries, Magadha is spoken of as subject to the Gupta kings of Canouj, and from that period is no more distinctly noticed; but its fame has been preserved, from its having been, as before mentioned, the birth-place of Boodha, and from its language (Magadhi, or Pali) being employed in the writings of that extensively diffused religion, as well as in those of the Jains. The claim of universal monarchy in India, is found advanced in records and inscriptions, not only by princes of the Magadha dynasty, but also by those of Cashmere, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Malwa, Guzerat, and other places; but the evidence cited in favour of their respective claims, is pretty generally deemed insufficient, and is frequently contradictory. To attempt reducing the histories of these kingdoms and their pretensions into form, would be a long and tedious task; which, even if successfully accomplished, could have little interest for the general reader, for at best, it would be but like arranging the scattered fragments of a child's puzzle, of which the chief pieces are wanting. At a future but perhaps not distant day, the patient and able research already so successfully directed to the study of oriental literature, may enable us to decide upon many points now involved in numberless difficulties and to draw a correct picture of India, without the danger, at present inevitable, of giving undue prominence to events of minor interest, and omitting altogether many important features. Before passing entirely from the subject of the condition of India between the time of Alexander and the Mohammedan era, it is, however, necessary to add a few remarks on the chief kingdoms of Hindoostan and the Deccan, so as to afford the reader

* Chi-fa-Hian, a Chinese Boodhist priest, visited India at the beginning of the fifth century, on a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the religion of Boodha, where he spent six years. His travels have been translated from the Chinese by M. Remusat. The Boodhistical religion, according to his account, had then suffered a serious and irreparable decline at Mathura and in the eastern districts of Hindoostan; and the Brahminical faith was in the ascendant. Temples and towers of past ages still existed, but the population had disappeared, and the country was in many such places a wilderness. Rajagriha, the abode of Jarasandha, the first of the Magadha kings, and the ancient capital, then exhibited the ruins of a large city, of which traces were still visible to Dr. Buchanan, in 1807–1814. The palace of Asoca, or A-yu, at Patali-pootra, or Kusuma-pura, built of stone, was entire when seen by Fa-Hian, and presented such superior specimens of sculpture and engraving, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects—genii, who laboured for the patron of *Fo*. The city of Ni-li, built in the neighbourhood by Asoca, was embellished by a handsome column, surmounted by a lion. Other columns, with lion capitals, were seen in different places. Central India is spoken of as under the government of one king; the cities and towns large, the people rich, charitable, and just in their actions, but given to discussion. In the month of May (the birth-day of Sakya-muni) four-wheeled cars were drawn about the streets; they had each a building of five stages which looked like a tower, were ornamented with gold, silver, coloured glass, and embroidery, and hung with carpets and white felt, adorned with painted figures of the celestial divinities; on the summits were a figure of Boodha. This was a season of great festivity, the streets were filled with people who flocked in from the neighbouring country; there were theatrical representations, feats of the athletæ, concerts of music and nightly illuminations; hospitals were opened for the sick, cripples, and orphans, who were solaced and relieved by the representatives of the different chiefs. At Magadha the priest sat himself down in a monastery for three years to study the sacred language and copy the MSS. Bengal then carried on extensive maritime traffic with the south-west regions and other places. Fa Hian took a passage in a large trading ship to Ceylon, which he reached (during the north-west monsoon) in fourteen days; thence he sailed for Java in a Hindoo ship, with 200 people, provisioned for ninety days. Altogether the travels of this intelligent Chinese abound in curious information; they corroborate the accounts of cities, and of the manners and customs of their inhabitants, given by native writers, and prove the Hindoos were then merchants, and even navigators on a considerable scale.—(Abstracted from *notes on Ancient India*. By Colonel Sykes. London, 1841; p. 6 to 76.)

some slight clue to their relative importance, antiquity, and position.*

That of *Bengal* is mentioned in the Maha Bharat, and the Ayeen Akbery continues the succession through five dynasties up to the Mohammedan conquest. These lists are to some extent supported by the inscriptions found in various places, which among other matters refer to a series of princes with names ending in Pala, who reigned apparently from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century, and are asserted to have ruled all India from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Brahmapootra to and even beyond the Indus. They are also asserted to have subduced Tibet. The dynasty of Pala was succeeded by one whose names ended in Sena, and this last was subverted by the Mohammedans about A.D. 1203.

The kingdom of *Malwa* is far less ancient than those already mentioned. Its famous monarch, Vicramaditya, is the Haroun al Raschid of Hindoo tales, of which a great number have been collated by the indefatigable zeal of Colonel Wilford. He is said to have passed the early part of his life among holy men in austere seclusion, and even when arrived at regal power, to have eschewed all pomp, using utensils of earth rather than of gold, and sleeping on a mat instead of a bed. There is reason to believe that this hero of romance was really a powerful monarch and conqueror, who ruled a civilised and prosperous country, extended his sway over the Deccan and even over Cabool, and was a distinguished patron of literature. Oojein became populous on account of the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, which he erected there; but he himself worshipped only one invisible God. He was slain, 56 B.C., in old age, in battle with Salivahana, a prince of the Deccan, who will be subsequently referred to; and his death formed the commencement of an era, which is still current among the countries northward of the Nerbudda. It is of Vicramaditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India. A long period of anarchy ensued in Malwa upon this abrupt conclusion of his able government. The next epoch is that of the renowned Rajah Bhoja; whose reign of forty years terminated about the end of the eleventh century. His grandson was taken prisoner, and his country conquered by the Rajah of Guzerat; but Malwa soon recovered its independence, which was finally destroyed by the Mohammedans, A.D. 1231.

In *Guzerat*, from its having been the residence of Crishna, and other circumstances, an early principality would appear to have existed; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.† Colonel Tod mentions another principality, founded at Ballabi, in the peninsula of Guzerat, in the middle of the second century, B.C., by an emigrant of the Solar race, which reigned in Oude. This dynasty was expelled in 524, by an army of barbarians, variously conjectured to have been Parthians, Persians of the Sassanian dynasty, and Indo-Bactrians. The second supposition is probably correct, as Sir John Malcolm asserts on the authority of various Persian writers, that Nousheerwan, who reigned at or about this period, carried his victorious arms into India; but that the tribute, which was the fruit of his conquest, was after his death no longer paid to his degenerate son and successor.‡ Another Rajpoot tribe, called the Chauras, succeeded to the rule of Guzerat, and finally established their capital in A.D. 746, at Anhalwara, now Pattan. Failing Chaura, in A.D. 931, through the death of the last rajah without male issue, the succession devolved on his son-in-law, a prince of the Rajpoot tribe of Salonka; whose family were chiefs of Callian, in the Deccan, above the Ghauts. The kingdom was absorbed by the Mussul-

* The authorities mainly relied on being the valuable summary contained in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i., pp. 388 to 425; the *Ayeen Akbery;* Brigg's translation of Ferishta; Todd's *Rajast'han;* and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*

† Vincent's translation of the *Periplûs*, p. 111.

‡ Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 112.—"The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana, all those to the Indus, *some provinces of India*, and the finest districts of Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia." Sir John adds that the emperors of China and India sent presents, the description of which reads more like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights* than the page of even a Persian historian. Among the gifts of the first potentate was the image of a panther, the body covered with pearls, and the eyes formed of rubies; a wonderful robe, the border of which was of celestial blue, while the centre was occupied by a representation of the king himself, clothed in his royal robes, and surrounded by his attendants; and lastly, enclosed in the same golden box as the robe was a female figure, the beauty of the face veiled by long tresses, and "overpowering as a flash of day during a dark night." The Indian offerings were a thousand pounds' weight of aloe-wood, a vase filled with pearls, and formed of one precious stone, on which was engraven the figures of a maiden seven hands in height, and of a lion; and a carpet made of a serpent's skin, delicately fine and exquisitely tinted.

man conquests of 1297. *Canouj,* in early times, was called Panchala, and seems to have been a long but narrow territory, extending on the east of Nepaul (which it included); and on the west, along the Chumbul and Bunnass as far as Ajmeer. Notwithstanding the notice it has attracted as one of the most ancient, wealthy, and magnificent places in India, its early history is very little known.* Its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindoo independence; and it was conquered by the Mussulmans in 1193. *Cashmere* is asserted, by its historians, to have existed 2,600 years B.C. Its last monarch was subdued by Mahmood, A.D. 1015. Its annals, as before stated, have been written carefully and at length; and placed within reach of the British public by Professor Wilson.

Delhi is first named in the Maha Bharat; it was governed by a Rajpoot line, whose last prince was dethroned, A.D. 1050, by an ancestor of the Prithwi Rajah, conquered by the Mussulmans, A.D. 1192.

The earliest mention of *Benares* is found in the same poem; and its independence terminated contemporaneously with that of Delhi. *Mithili* existed in Rama's time, and was the capital of his father-in-law, Sita. It was famous for a school of law, and gave its name to one of the chief Indian languages. *Gour,* named in the Maha Bharat, seems to have lasted up to about A.D. 1231.

Sinde, referred to in the same record, was independent in the time of Alexander (325 B.C.); and was finally conquered by the Mohammedans. *Mewar, Jessulmer,* and *Jeipur,* founded respectively in A.D. 720, 731, and 967, still exist as distinct states. *Ajmeer* is traced back by Tod, for seven generations before A.D. 695; it fell at the same time as Delhi. The *Punjaub* can hardly be spoken of as a distinct kingdom, since it appears to have been generally broken up into various small states; but from a very remote time a great city is thought to have existed near Lahore,† though under a different name.

Our insight into the history of the *Deccan* commences, for the most part, at a much later date than that of Hindoostan. The five distinct languages—Tamul, Canarese, Telugu, Mahratta, and Urya, are considered to denote an equal number of early national divisions, the first-mentioned indicating the most ancient, viz., the country of Dravira, which occupied the extreme south of the peninsula; the earliest colonists from Hindoostan having traversed the bleak plateaux of the upper Deccan, and settled down on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore. The kingdom of *Pandya* was formed about the fifth century. In the time of the "Periplûs" it comprehended a part of the Malabar coast; but it was usually bounded by the Ghauts to the westward, and occupied only the territory now known as the districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The seat of government was at Madura, in Ptolemy's time, and remained there until about a century ago. The last prince was conquered by the nabob of Arcot, in 1736. The neighbouring kingdom of *Chola* was at one time of considerable extent, its princes having, it is supposed, about the middle of the eighth century, possessed large portions of Carnata and Telingana. Their sway was greatly diminished in the twelfth century, being reduced to the limits of the Dravira country. Chola lost its separate existence about the end of the seventeenth century. The capital was, for the most part, at Conjeveram, west of Madras. *Chera* comprehended Travancore, part of Malabar, and Coimbatore, and seems to have existed about the commencement of our era. It was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands portioned among the surrounding states.

Kerala included Malabar and Carnara. About the first or second century of the Christian era a colony of Brahmins from Hindoostan settled here, divided the country into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast; renting allotments to men of the inferior classes. The executive government was held by a Brahmin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe; but in the course of time, a chief of the military class was appointed. The northern division appears to have been ruled by a dynasty of its own till the twelfth century, when it was overturned by the Belala rajahs; and subsequently became subject to the rajahs of Vijayanagar.

The *Concan,* in early times, was a wild forest tract (as great part of it still remains), thinly inhabited by Mahrattas.

Carnata seems to have been originally

* The Pala dynasty at Canouj are thought to have displaced as paramount rulers in India, the Gupta dynasty of Prayaga and Delhi. Prayaga or Allahabad, the ancient Gupta capital, contains a column with an inscription of Samadras Gupta's, which has been translated by Mr. Prinsep.

† When the Pala princes held Canouj, members of the family ruled at Lahore, and thence extended

divided between the Pandya and Chera princes and those of Carnara (the northern half of Kerala). It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the 11th century, when one considerable dynasty arose—the family of Belala—who were, or pretended to be, Rajpoots* of the Yadoo branch, and whose power at one time extended over the whole of Carnata, together with Malabar, the Tamul country, and part of Telingana. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310. The eastern part of Telingana appears to have been, from the beginning of the ninth to nearly the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yadava. A Rajpoot family of the Chalukya tribe reigned at Callian, on the borders of Carnata and Maharashta. They are traced by inscriptions, from the tenth to the end of the twelfth century; are supposed to have possessed the whole of Maharashta to the Nerbudda,† and even to have been superior lords of the west of Telingana.‡ The last king was deposed by his minister, who was in turn assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingayet seet, which was then rising into notice, and the kingdom fell into the hands of the Yadoos of Deogiri (Doulatabad). Another branch of the Chalukya tribe ruled over *Calinga*, the eastern portion of Telingana, which extends along the sea from Dravira to Orissa. The dynasty perhaps began about the tenth century, and certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth; it was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andra, and finally subverted by the rajahs of Cuttack.

Andra is the name of all the inland part of the Telingana country, the capital being at Varangul, about eighty miles north-east of Hyderabad. Its kings, Vierama and Salivahana, alleged to have been connected with the Andra race in Magadha, are among the earliest mentioned. After them, according to local records, the Chola rajahs succeeded; then a race called Yavans,§ who reigned from 515, A.D., till 953; next came the family of Ganapati, who attained great power about the end of the thirteenth century, and are even affirmed to have possessed the whole of the peninsula south of the Godavery. In 1332 the capital was taken by a Mohammedan army from Delhi, and the state merged at length in the Mussulman kingdom of Goleonda.

The history of *Orissa*, like all others in the Deccan, begins with princes mentioned in the Maha Bharat, describes in a very confused manner the successive occupation of the country by Vicramaditya and Salivahana, and the repeated invasions of Yavans from Delhi, from a country called Babul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmere and from Sinde, between the sixth century before, and the fourth after, Christ. The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yavans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years, being expelled, A.D. 473, by Yayati Kesari. This point is thought to be the first established, for the traditions regarding the Yavans cannot be satisfactorily explained. The natives suppose them to have been Mussulmans, but the first Arab invasion was not till the seventh century after Christ. Others apply the story to Seleucus, or to the Bactrian Greeks; while Masson suggests the possibility of the people of Yava or Java being meant. The Kesari family lasted till A.D. 1131, when their capital was taken by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa; his heirs were supplanted by a Rajpoot dynasty, of the Sun or Surya race. The government having fallen into confusion about 1550, was seized on by a Telingu chief, and ultimately annexed to the Mogul empire by Akber, in 1578. The greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been enjoyed towards the end of the twelfth century; but during several years before and after that date, the people of Orissa claim to have made extensive conquests, especially to the south. In the middle of the fifteenth century the government of Orissa sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras; and about the same time their rajah advanced to the neighbourhood of Bidr to assist the Hindoo princes of those parts against the Mohammedans.

their sway to Cabool, where they remained up to the time of Sultan Mahmood, the then rajah being named Jaya Pala.—*Masson.*

* "Some of the Hindoos assert that the tribes of Brahmin and Kshetry [Cshatriya] existed from time immemorial, but that the Rajpoots are a modern tribe, only known since the beginning of the Kulyoog [Cali Yuga, A.M. 3215.] The rajahs, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajpoots, or the children of the rajahs."—(Briggs' *Translation of Ferishta.*—Introduction, p. lxiii.).

† *Vide* Mr. Walter Elliot's contributions to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv., p. 1.

‡ Wilson, *Introd. to Mackenzie papers*, p. cxxix.

§ The country north of Peshawer was anciently called Yava, perhaps these Yavans came thence.

Maharashta or the *Mahratta country*, though situated on the frontier of the Deccan, and of great size, if we may judge from the wide extent over which the language bearing that name is spoken, is only vaguely noticed in early records. After the legends regarding Rama, whose retreat was near the source of the Godavery, the first fact mentioned is the existence of Tagara, which was frequented by Egyptian merchants 250 years B.C. It is alluded to in inscriptions, as a celebrated place in the twelfth century, and is still well known by name. It is mentioned by the author of the "Periplûs,"* but in such a manner as to certify little more respecting its site than that it lay about 100 miles to the eastward of Paitan, on the Godavery. Grant Duff supposes it to have been somewhat to the north-east of the modern town of Bheer.† It is said to have been a very great city, and one of the two principal marts of Dachanabades, a country so called from Dachan, which in the "Periplûs" is stated to be the native word for *south*. The other mart was named Plithana.‡ Tagara, wherever situated, became the capital of a line of kings of the Rajpoot family of Silar. The reign of their most famous monarch, Salivahana, gave rise to a new era, commencing A.D. 77. He is stated to have been the son of a potter, and to have headed an insurrection which overturned the existing government (whatever it might have been), and removed the capital to Prutesthan or Paitan, on the Godavery. From this period nothing is known of the history of Maharashta (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Callian and Pernala) till the beginning of the twelfth century: a family of Yadoos then became rajahs of Deogiri, and continued to reign until 1317, when the country, which had been previously invaded by the Mohammedans from Delhi, was finally subjugated. About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Mahrattas by name; before they had been noticed only as inhabitants of the Deccan. Our information regarding their early attainments so utterly fails to elucidate the testimony which the famous cave temples of Ellora and elsewhere, bear to the capabilities and numbers of the people by whom such mighty works were planned and executed, that, notwithstanding the useful labours of their historian (Grant Duff), we may believe there is yet much to be learned respecting them, probably a very interesting portion of their existence as a nation. Recently they have played a prominent but desolating and destructive part, which has drawn from the pen of a modern writer a denunciation of "those southern Goths, the Mahrattas."—(Tod's *Rajast'han*. Introduction.)

Concerning the social condition of the inhabitants of Hindoostan and the Deccan during these dark middle ages, we have certainly not sufficient data on which to found any general conclusions, except those which may be deduced from the edicts of such exemplary monarchs as Asoca—unhappily rare in all countries—and other collateral evidence. Our present information divides itself into two classes; and comes either through the channel of poetry, that is, of history travestied into fable; or else through the medium of Brahmin or Boodhist priests: it must consequently be well searched and sifted before it can be relied on as unbiassed by political motive or sectarian prejudice. But search and sift as we may, little light is thrown on the condition of the people, nor probably ever will be, at least in the sense given to that phrase in the present era of European and American civilization. The states noticed in the foregoing sketch would each one of them afford matter for a volume, full of wars, usurpations, change of dynasty, and, above all, extension of dominion; all this resting on local records, and reading on smoothly enough; but much of it entirely incompatible with the equally cherished traditions of neighbouring states. The code of Menu is perhaps an exception to this censure, but the uncertainty attached to the epoch at which it was written, and the extent to which its

* The "Periplûs [description] of the Erythrean Sea," is the title of a Greek work, issued in 1533, from the printing-press of Froben, at Basle. It contains the best account extant of the commerce carried on from the Erythrean or Red Sea and the coast of Africa, to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a Roman province. Dr. Vincent, the learned Dean of Westminster, who, in 1800, wrote an elaborate treatise, in two vols., 4to., to elucidate a translation of the "Periplûs," says—"I have never been able to discover from what manuscript the work was first edited;" neither could he ascertain the name of the author, generally supposed to be Arrian the historian, but who, in his opinion, must have lived a century before. There is internal evidence, according to the Dean, that the writer was a Greek, a merchant of Alexandria, and that he actually made a voyage on board the fleet from Egypt as far as the Gulf of Cambay, if not to Ceylon.—(*See* Vincent, vol. ii.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 25.

‡ Elphinstone conjectures Plithana to be a mistake of the Greek copyist for Paithana or Paitan. The word occurs but once in the "Periplûs."

institutes were ever observed, greatly impairs its value. The first objection applies also to the Ramayana and Maha Bharat.

Thus much perhaps may be reasonably inferred, from the concurrent testimony of Hindoo and foreign records, of inscriptions, and much incidental evidence of various kinds—that, at a period long antecedent to the Christian era, and while the natives of Britain were nude, nomadic savages, the people of India had attained a high position in arts, science, literature, and commerce, and lived under the hereditary rule of their own kings or rajahs; the evils attendant on the otherwise irresponsible power of a patriarchal and despotic ruler being probably counterbalanced by the respective rights of the chiefs of the sacred, and of the warrior casts, but still more by the municipal institutions which seem to have been general throughout the country. In many smaller states the government appears to have been a sort of oligarchical republic. The manners and customs of the Hindoos, the influence of cast, and the changes gradually brought about by Mussulman and British conquerors, will, if space permit, be specially though briefly narrated in another section. Between the time of Menu and the Mohammedan epoch, the religious and social habits of the people had sadly deteriorated. Their belief in an omnipresent or "all-pervasive" God had gradually been warped by perverted but plausible reasoning, into a belief that because God was in everything, therefore anything might be worshipped, not simply as His representative, but actually as Himself. Beginning probably with those glorious natural objects of the Sabæan heresy, the sun, moon, and stars, they had at length become so degraded as to fall down before images of wood and stone, and had lost sight almost wholly of their original doctrine of an indivisible triad, by ignoring Brahma (the creating principle) and according to Vishnu (the preserving) or Saiva (the destroying),* a paramount place in the pantheon of hero-gods, sacred animals, and grotesque, or often (to European eyes) immodest figures, which gradually arose, and swallowed up in the darkness of heathenism the rays of light which possibly shone upon the earliest of the Hindoo race in the patriarchal age. Their *religious observances* involved a tedious and almost impracticable ritual, with abstinence from many things which in the christian dispensations are treated as harmless—but the character of Brahmin and also of Boodhist teaching, generally distinct, was alike in being, with some great and glaring exceptions, merciful and even comparatively moral.

* These are mythologically represented as having wives, namely, Seraswati or Devi, Lakshmi or Bhavani, and Parvati or Durga, considered metaphysically as the active powers which develop the principle represented by each member of the triad.

The laws of the Hindoos, especially for civil judicature, have been eulogized by Sir W. Jones, Munro, and other authorities, though severely criticised by Mill, who on this subject was prejudiced, and in fact possessed but a small part of the information since revealed. The equal partitionment of property, and the consequent disability of willing away land or money, has been much canvassed as to its effect in preventing the accumulation or improvement of possessions. It undoubtedly stimulated the dedication of large sums to religious, charitable, or public purposes; to the building of temples, of 'choultries or houses of refreshment for travellers,' and to the formation of tanks and canals—most necessary works in a land where such means, under Providence, can alone prevent hundreds, nay thousands, not only of cattle, but of human beings, from perishing by the maddening pangs of thirst, or in the more prolonged agonies of hunger, when the parched earth, gaping in deep chasms, plainly bids man, if he would be sustained by her increase, use the energy and ability with which God has blessed him, to supply as best he can, the want of kindly dew and rain, to renew her strength and fertility.

The *position of women* was decidedly superior to that of the weaker sex in almost any other ancient nation, with regard to the hereditary laws of property: they were, if unmarried, to receive portions out of their brothers' allotments. Menu ordains that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "sister," and that way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, for a prince, or a bridegroom; and in his text on the laws of hospitality he enjoins that "pregnant women, brides and damsels, shall have food before all the other guests." The seclusion and ignorance to which females are now subjected had their origin in the like Mohammedan custom. Formerly they were taught to read and write, they were the ornament and delight of the social circle; and historic or traditionary annals abound in records of their virtuous and noble deeds. Suttee or widow-burning; infanticide; the carrying out of the sick, when deemed past recovery; suicide under the same or different

circumstances, including immolation beneath the car of Juggernaut and self-inflicted tortures are almost entirely innovations which gradually crept in: Juggernaut especially—being of quite modern date.

The extent of scientific knowledge acquired by the Hindoos and the date of its attainment, is a source of endless discussion; yet the subject is too important to be wholly passed over, even in this intermediate stage of their history.

In *astronomy*, much merit is assigned them by Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair, who assert that a considerable degree of progress had been made 3,000 years before the Christian era, as evidenced by observations still extant. La Place, De Lambre, and others dispute the authenticity of these observations, but all agree in admitting a great antiquity. Mr. Bentley, who has examined the calculations very minutely, and is one of the most strenuous opponents of the claims of the Hindoos, pronounces their division of the Ecliptic into twenty-seven lunar mansions, to have been made B.C. 1442. Mr. Elphinstone is of opinion that the Indian observations could not have commenced at a later period than the fifteenth century, B.C., or one or two centuries before the first mention of astronomy in Greece. In the fifth century the Brahmins discussed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and they were more correct than Ptolemy in their notions regarding the precession of the Equinoxes.

In an Indian work (the *Surya Sidhanta*) to which the date of the fifth or sixth century is generally assigned, a system of *trigonometry* is laid down which involves theorems that were not known in Europe until the sixteenth century. *Geometry* was probably studied long previous to the date of the above book, as exemplified in the demonstrations of various properties of triangles, the proportion of the radius to the circumference of the circle, and other problems. The invention of *decimal notation* is ascribed to the Hindoos, who, even in *algebra*, so early as the sixth century,* under a celebrated teacher, (Brahma Gupta,) excelled all their cotemporaries, not merely in propounding problems, but in its application to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations. Their *chronology* has long been a stumbling-block (see p. 15), but it is nevertheless considered by several critical inquirers to admit of satisfactory explanation by means of astronomical and arithmetical calculations. Megasthenes expressly declares that the Indians and the Jews were the only nations possessed of a rational chronology, and that they agreed. Mr. Masson remarks, on this statement,—"when I look at the enormous sums given of millions of years elapsed during the three first *yugas*, and ask how can they be reconciled with the dictum of Megasthenes, I call to mind a verse somewhere in Menu, which tells us that a year of a mortal is but a day with the gods, and conceit that these large numbers have been calculated on some such base as there suggested—just as in the Hebrew Prophets, Daniel, &c., periods are expressed by days, weeks, &c.—only in these, multiplication is needful, and with the Hindoos division." In the private letter from which I have ventured to quote the preceding passage, Mr. Masson adds, that by the use of the multiple 360 and the divisor nine (the sacred number of the Tartars and other nations), the Hindoo statement can be made to agree with that found in one (? the Samaritan† version) of the Scriptures within a single year.‡ And he considers that the system of Indian chronology was framed in some manner intelligible to the initiated,§ by whom the sacred writings were solely, or at least particularly, intended to

* "Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and, indeed, before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people."—(Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 250).

† The Samaritan is the most ancient of the oriental versions of the Scriptures, but its exact age is unascertained; it contains only the Pentateuch.

‡ The anonymous writer of a *Key to the Chronology of the Hindoos*, whose opinions are set forth in 2 vols. 8vo., printed at Cambridge in 1820; undertakes to convince his readers that "the Hindoo dates correspond with the Hebrew texts of our Scriptures, and that they date the *Lotos* or creation 5,817 years from the present time, which is only six years from the true period, according to the best calculations we have, and only two years according to the vulgar era of Christ, A.M. 4004." In an elaborate disquisition he contends that the commencement of the fourth historical age, *Cali yuga*, "is correctly placed at B.C. 3182;" the three previous ages "contain a period of 900 years only;" and by adding 900 years to the current year of the fourth, or *Cali* age, we get the true epoch of creation, according to all oriental chronology." The *year of the world* is computed by the Greek church at B.C. 5509; by the Abyssinian church, 5492; by the Jews, 3760. The Bible chronology gives it as 4004 B.C.

§ It is stated in the "*Key*" that some European suggested to Sir W. Jones an explanation by cutting the ciphers off the numerals.

be read, the Brahmins in this respect differing essentially from the Boodhists.

In *geography* they had, as a nation, made little progress, and though unquestionably engaged in traffic more or less direct with the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, probably entered, at the utmost, only as individuals on the carrying trade beyond their own coast, and gave little thought to the position or affairs of other countries; and this accords with the metaphysical, rather than practical, turn of their minds. There is, however, a passage in Menu which shows that marine insurance was practised his time; and various writings, poems, plays, and tales written during different periods from the first to the twelfth century, detail adventures at sea, in which Indian sailors and ships are immediately concerned. That the Hindoos established colonies in Java and other places there is reason to believe, though we cannot tell at what time, or under what circumstances. Bryant, who contends that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos, asserts, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, that these people were found in Colchis, in Mesopotamia, and even in Thrace. Recently they have been met with in Arabia, Armenia, and Astracan.

In *medicine* they had not merely studied the virtues of simples, but had also attained considerable skill in chemistry, and knew how to prepare (for the most part in modes peculiar to themselves) sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acid; oxides of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge) tin, and zinc; the sulphurets of copper, zinc, and iron, and carbonates of lead and iron. They employed minerals internally, giving both mercury, arsenic, and arsenious acid; cinnabar was used for fumigations, to produce safe and speedy salivation. They also practised inoculation for small-pox. Their *surgery* is still more remarkable, from their ignorance of *anatomy*—dissection or even the touch of dead bodies, being deemed the extreme of pollution—yet they cut for the stone, couched for cataract, and performed other delicate operations;* and their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments, which, however, were probably always rude.

Of the *languages* and *literature* of India, it would be impossible to convey any idea in few words, without appearing to assume a dogmatic attitude on the many difficult questions involved therein. The translations of Sir William Jones from the Sanscrit, of *Sacontala*, a pastoral drama of great antiquity, and other poems, together with the *Hindoo Theatre* of Professor Wilson, enable English readers to form their own opinions of the degree of dramatic excellence very early attained in India. Portions of the Ramayana, of the Maha Bharat, and the whole of the Sama Veda have also been translated; the fourth, or Antharva Veda, (whose authenticity is disputed), being still sedulously withheld by the Brahmins, and denounced as a "Black Book," teaching astrology and witchcraft. The six Angras or Shastras, are supposed to have been written by inspiration to elucidate the sublime mysteries contained in the Vedas. They treat of theology and ritual observances; of grammar, metre, astronomy, logic, law, the art of government, medicine, archery, the use of arms, music, dancing, and the drama. With the eighteen Puranas we are not immediately concerned, for two reasons. They must be subsequently referred to as explanatory of the present (would to God that we could say the past) idolatrous polytheism of the Hindoos; and moreover in the opinion of Professor Wilson, none of them assumed their existing state until the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished about the eighth or ninth century, and consequently, subsequent to the period of which we are now treating: Wilson traces several of them to the twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of our era. The Puranas have been already frequently quoted, because they comprise the genealogies of various dynasties, especially of the solar and lunar races; which are valuable, although sometimes misleading, being evidently a compilation of fragments obtained from family records. Many historical documents probably yet remain uninjured, hidden away from the desolating torch of the soldiers of the Crescent, who generally did their utmost to destroy the writings of an idolatrous people, at least any that might appear connected with their creed, which all were more or less. Doubtless much valuable data has thus utterly perished; and the loss is now irreparable. The remark made by the people of Rajast'han to Colonel Tod, when he complained of the numerous deficiencies in their annals, was sufficient explanation and apology. "When our princes," said they, "were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and com-

* *Vide* Dr. Royle's Essay on the *Antiquity of the Indian Materia Medica.*

pelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be obliged to abandon the very meal preparing for them—was that a time to think of historical records?"*

In the lighter department of literature they excel; and, indeed, in tales and fables appear to have set the example to the rest of mankind, since to them may be traced the subjects of the most popular Oriental and even European fictions.†

Their *music* is said to have been systematic and refined, but it has since greatly deteriorated: *painting* was probably always at a low ebb, unless beautifully illustrated manuscripts may form an exception—in which, however, the figures are the worst executed portion of the ornaments. Their ancient *sculpture* often presents spirited and sometimes exceedingly graceful groups; but is generally rendered unpleasing, not only by the grotesque and many-limbed forms of the gods and goddesses, but also by their ignorance of anatomy, and inattention, even as copyists, to the symmetrical arrangement of the limbs and muscles, and to the maintenance of proportion between different figures.

Architecture early became a favourite and practical study,‡ but varied greatly in different parts of India (*vide* section on topography). It is said that the arch was not understood before the Mussulman era, but this seems to be contradicted by the age of some specimens which still exist. Tanks or reservoirs for irrigation or for bathing were made on a scale of great extent and magnificence, and also wells of considerable depth and breadth, the more ancient of which were square and surrounded by galleries, with a broad flight of steps from top to bottom. Their triumphal columns and massive gateways and pagodas take rank among the finest specimens of the architecture of any nation.

Their *manufactures* and *commerce* have been noticed sufficiently for the present purpose: their mode of *agriculture* was so nearly what it is at present, that that subject, together with their rights in the land and the *revenue system* generally, may be best deferred for examination to a future chapter.

Chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen and sometimes by camels. Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of extraordinary magnificence, used in their famous festivals, when well appointed troops marched in procession; and thrones, tables, goblets, lavers, set with precious stones, and robes of exquisite colours richly embroidered with gold, were borne along in state. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show which birds, remarkable for gorgeous plumage or sweet song, were made to enliven; being conveyed on trees transported on large waggons. In short, a Hindoo fête in the ancient days, was a thing that even a Parisian of the time of the second Buonaparte might sigh for—always excepting fireworks, for it does not appear that they had any knowledge of gunpowder, although in war they are said to have used arrows tipped with some combustible or explosive compound.

The *police system* Megasthenes declared to be excellent; *royal roads* are spoken of by Strabo, in one place, and mile-stones in another.§ The *dress*, as described by Arrian,‖ was precisely the two wrappers of cotton cloth, still worn by the people of Bengal and by strict Brahmins everywhere.

It is asserted that no *Indian coinage* existed prior to the introduction of that of the Greeks or Bactrians. This, if proved, would be no criterion of barbarism: the Chinese, at the present day, have no gold or silver pieces—their only coin being a small alloyed copper "cash," of which about a thousand are equal to one Spanish dollar. All sales have for ages been regulated by bars or blocks of the precious metals, with a stamped attestation of their respective purity; and it is possible that in ancient times a similar course was pursued in India. There are however passages in a Sanscrit play and in the penal code of the Hindoos which refer, not only to the standard, but to the fabric and stamp of coin, and to the punishments due to the fabricators and falsifiers of the public monies. Small flat pieces of silver, square, round, or oblong, weighing from forty-eight to fifty grains, with a rude punch, symbolical of a sun, moon, or star, or a nondescript figure, of an unknown age, have been found in considerable quantities in various localities.

Hindoo gold and silver coins, tolerably well executed, have been discovered at Beghram, Cutch, Benares, and other places appertaining to the Balhara dynasty; which is thought to have ruled the country from Oojein to the Indus, 375 years posterior to the

* *Rajat'han*, vol. i. p. ix.

† *Vide Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 166, on the Indian origin of European fables.

‡ *Essay on Hindoo Architecture* by Rám Ráz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

§ Strabo, lib. xv., pp. 474—494, ed. 1587.

‖ *Indica*, cap. xvi.

Vicramaditya era. Coins of the Chandra Gupta dynasty have been collected from the ruins of Behat near the Doab Canal, and at Canouj; others, of a Jain or Boodhistical type, have been procured at Rajast'han and at Hurdwar on the Ganges.

Recent investigations* have brought to light no inconsiderable quantity of Indo-Scythian and Sassanian coins, which gradually mixed with and at length merged into a distinct Hindoo type. This, with modifications, lasted to the time of the Mohammedan conquerors. A very curious English collection of Hindoo silver monies connects two dynasties; indeed, there are not many links wanting to form an entire series of Greek, Bactrian, Nysæan,† Sassanian, Indo-Scythian, and Hindoo‡ (Guzerat, Rajpoot, Canouj, or Rahtore, &c.) coins, from the time of Alexander to that of the Moslems in the eleventh century. The Roman coins discovered in India extend in antiquity through a period of more than 1,000 years, from the Augustan age down to the decline of the Lower empire; those generally found are of the smaller denominations, consisting of the common currency of the eastern parts of the empire: many of the copper coins are of Egyptian fabrication.

Bactria, Aria, and Parthia.—The two first-named countries, comprising the territory lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus Rivers, are on the high road of Asiatic conquest, and have been the battle-field of every tribe and nation that has risen to dominion in the East. Parthia has been always intimately connected with them, and the three have jointly and severally exercised an influence in India, the extent and nature of which is still but imperfectly understood.

Recent discoveries of coins (above referred to) have confirmed and augmented the information bequeathed by ancient authors, and thrown a new light on the connection which existed with the kingdom of Bactria—that is, of the country watered by the Oxus and its tributaries, and separated from Hindoostan by the range of mountains whence the Oxus and Indus derive their respective sources. It has been already stated, that after the first contest for the partition of the vast empire of Alexander, all his eastern conquests, including Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, Aria,§ &c., were appropriated by Seleucus. Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until civil wars and the impending revolt of the Parthians induced Diodotus, or Theodotus, the satrap or governor of the province, to assert his independence and become the first king, about 250, or, according to Bayer, 255, B.C. Parthia also successfully revolted from the sway of the Seleucidæ, under Arsaces,‖ who, according to Strabo, was by birth a Bactrian, but is called by other writers a Dahian, that is, a native of Sogdiana:¶ whoever he was, he appears to have used Greek only on his coins and in his public letters and correspondence.

Bactria itself, however, cannot be supposed to have been colonised by any great body of Greeks, but probably received many of the partially-disciplined recruits raised by Alexander during the later part of his progress. Even the Greeks, by intermarriage with Persian, and doubtless with Indian wives, would soon lose their distinctive character; and after the establishment of Parthian power, the immigration of adventurers from Greece, and, indeed, all communication with that country would cease. This accounts for the total silence of Greek authors respecting the termination of the Bactrian kingdom. Its limits, during the most flourishing period, included some parts of India. Strabo quotes an ancient author, who asserts that the Bactrians possessed

* See *Ariana Antiqua*, a descriptive account of the antiquities and coins of Afghanistan, with a memoir of the buildings, called topes, by C. Masson, Esq. Edited by Prof. Wilson, 4to, 1841. Also the expositions of J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*; and H. T. Prinsep's *Hist. Results.*

† The features of the sovereigns of the various dynasties stamped on these coins are quite distinct, and they are generally well executed. The Nysæan have a fillet or diadem round the head; reverse, a horseman; the Indo-Scythian an erect figure of Hercules resting on his club: the Sassanian, a fire altar on the reverse. The legends are generally in Greek, or in Pehlevi, a language which was contemporary with the Parsi (of Persia), and the Zend (of Media), five or six hundred years, B.C. It was used in the region round Assyria, and probably in Assyria itself,—but together with the Zend has been a dead language for more than two thousand years.

‡ The ancient Hindoo coins have various devices—a horseman, a horse, an elephant, a lion, a bull, an antelope, a goat, the Sankh, or sacred shell, or the hieroglyphic called *Swastika.*

§ Aria is the territory of which Herat is the capital. Ariana (Eeran) is the general name for the country east of Persia and Media to the Indus.

‖ Sogdiana designates the mountains which feed the Jaxartes and divide that river from the Oxus.

¶ Arsaces was the title of Parthian princes. The Parthians were the Sacæ of Asia, and Saca-dwipa (the country of the Sacæ) lay about the fountains of of the Oxus.—Conder's *Modern Traveller.* (*India.*)

"the most conspicuous part of Ariana" (Khorasan), and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement the principal actors were Menander, Appollodotus, and Demetrius, who are mentioned together by Strabo; but their date and the limits of their sway are not clearly stated. Demetrius is a puzzle, or rather the site of his kingdom, for he once had one, and was a conqueror besides. Two or three of his coins have been found in Cabool, not sufficient to establish the fact of his rule there, but rather the reverse; two or three others — of silver — have been brought from Bokhara. Appollodotus and Menander * certainly ruled over Cabool, their copper coins being found in such numbers, and so constantly, as to prove they were once a currency there; but then, as regards Appollodotus, Cabool is held to have been merely a province, his capital being established elsewhere, to be looked for, perhaps, where his copper money was circular instead of square, as at Cabool, and such circular coins are discovered more eastward in the Punjaub, and even at Muttra (the old Methora), on the Jumna. Masson strongly suspects the kingdom of Appollodotus and Menander to have been rather Indian than Bactrian; and Professor Lassen supposes three kingdoms to have existed besides that of Bactria, of which the eastern, under Menander and Appollodotus, comprehended the Punjaub and the valley of the Indus, with Cabool and Arachosia, or Candahar, added in times of prosperity. The western kingdom, he places conjecturally at Heerat and in Seestan, and the third would include the Paropamisan region, which, however, Prinsep inclines to attribute to Bactria.† Unfortunately, no information has been obtained to prove how far north or west of Cabool the currencies of the aforesaid kings spread, otherwise the limits of their rule might have been partially traced in those directions. The Greeks, under Menander, made extensive conquests, subduing the Seres and Shauni to the north and north-east of India; crossing the Hypanis (Hyphasis, or Beyah), and proceeding as far as the Isamus to the south-eastward; and on the south-westward reducing Pattalene, that is, the country about Tatta, forming the Delta of the Indus. All the intermediate territory appears, from the statement of Strabo, to have been vanquished; and we might form a tolerably satisfactory conclusion as to its extent, but for doubts suggested of the meaning of the word *Isamus*. This is by some considered to denote the Jumna River, by others the Himalaya Mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and, thirdly, with perhaps better reason, the Isamutti River, which falls into the Hooghly, a western branch of the Ganges.

Bactria Proper, as established by Diodotus, appears to have continued through his successors Diodotus II., Euthydemus, Eucratides, and his successor (supposed by De Guignes and Bayer to have been his son and murderer, Eucratides II., but by Masson, Heliocles), until about 125 years B.C., when, (according to Chinese records, quoted by De Guignes) a great movement which took place in Central or Eastern Tartary impelled across the Jaxartes (Sir) an irresistible torrent of Scythian hordes. This statement is corroborated by the testimony of Strabo, who gives the names of the four principal tribes by whom the overthrow of the Greek kingdom was effected. From these names they would appear to have been composed of a mixture of Getæ or Goths, Dahi or Dacians, Sakarauli or Sakas, and Toehari, perhaps, but not certainly, Turks. All seized portions of Bactria; and after some time the Getæ subdued the others, and advanced upon India. Crossing the Hindoo Koosh, they dispossessed the successor of Hermias, if not the old king himself; and their presence is very clearly indicated by those coins bearing the name of that king, with the prefix Su. Soon after the coinage was varied; busts probably intended to represent their own kings or chiefs were introduced, and Bactro-Pali legends on the reverse, much differing from the Greek ones encircling the busts—the latter, indeed, becoming unintelligible. The Getæ, moreover, we are assured, retained power in the countries bordering on the Indus for four centuries—liable, necessarily, to vicissitudes,

* Whether Appollodotus succeeded or preceded Menander is uncertain, but an opinion may be raised that although always mentioned first, he really followed Menander, because his circular coins so closely resemble in style and fabric those of Azes (in Bactro-Pali, Aya) that it is evident the one currency followed the other, in the Punjaub and to the east, but not in Cabool, where that of Hermias prevailed.

For this remark, as well as other information interwoven in the text conveying a brief sketch of Bactrian affairs, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Masson.

† Because of the bilingual as well as pure Greek coins of Heliocles and Antimachus, kings of Bactria. —*Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan*, by H. Prinsep, Esq., p. 66.

but still maintaining themselves until finally overcome by the Huns. The Parthians benefited by the occasion of attacking Eucratides, and deprived him of two satrapies; but although certain coins bearing a national tinge, with an attempted imitation of the names and titles of Heliocles are found in Cabool, there is little other evidence of Parthian rule there—while in the Punjaub, immediately on the banks of the Indus, there is more. It is not improbable, that they contested the possession of Cabool with the Getæ, but were unsuccessful, and directed their attention rather to Sinde, and thence ascended the Indus; but it may be doubted if these Parthians were those established in Persia—although of the same or kindred race—they may have been Dahæ. Though weakened and disorganised, Bactria cannot have been entirely overwhelmed by Scythian or Parthian incursions, that is not in the time of Eucratides or Heliocles, since Horace, 120 years later, deemed it of sufficient importance to engage the attention of Augustus. Its final disruption by Parthian agency must have been of considerably later date.

The fortunes of *Parthia* likewise underwent considerable vicissitudes. Arsaces possessed only Parthia and Hyrcania, the nucleus of his sovereignty being the colonies planted by Alexander eighty years before. His immediate successors were brave and valiant, and their empire at one time extended from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes; but whether it included or received tribute from the ancient soil of the Hindoos is little better than matter of conjecture.* The sceptre of Persia continued to be wielded by this line until A.D. 235, when Ardeshur Babakun, or Artaxerxes, a distinguished officer of the Parthian army—having been slighted by the reigning monarch, Arsaces-Artabanus—revolted, and after three severe battles, conquered and slew Artabanus, and established his own dynasty, the Sassanian, being crowned at Balkh, where his last victory was gained. Thus closed the Greco-Parthian dominion in central Asia, after a continuance of very nearly 500 years; and the same date marks the end of the transition of Parthia back from Hellenism to an entirely Asiatic sovereignty and condition of society. The system of government had been always purely Asiatic; that is, by subordinate satraps or viceroys invested with full and absolute authority over the person and property of the people committed to their charge. Alexander had experienced the evils of thus forming an *Imperium in imperio* in every province, in the misconduct of several satraps during his absence in the Indian campaign; and, had he lived, would probably have introduced a sounder system; but his successors had neither the ability to plan, nor perhaps opportunity to execute, any such radical change in their respective governments. They lacked, moreover, the prestige of their great master's name and character, which had alone enabled him to check the ambition or rapacity of his vicegerents, by the exercise of an arbitrary power of removal. After his death, the method generally adopted of controlling, removing, or punishing a military satrap, was to turn against him the arms of a rival neighbour. The result was, of course, the origin of a number of irresponsible despots. Keeping this in mind, it is the less surprising that Parthian coins should be found, asserting independence and bearing arrogant titles, in Afghanistan, since these may indicate nothing but the temporary successes or pretensions of various petty satraps.† The most celebrated of the later Sassanian kings was Chosroes, who reigned from 531 to 571; his grandson was deposed in 628, and after a few years of tumult and distraction, Persia fell under the power of the Caliphs, by whom it has ever since been ruled.

* Mithridates II., who reigned in the early part of the century before the Christian era, and whose death was followed by an interregnum of civil war, or doubtful sovereignty, in Parthia, was the first of the Arsacidæ who adopted the title of "Great King of Kings," which is believed to be of Indian origin, and was probably assumed after the acquisition of countries bordering on India.—Prinsep's *Historical Results*, p. 67.

† *Vide* Prinsep's *Historical Results*, for much interesting discussion regarding Bactrian coins, especially the opinions of Wilson, Masson, and Lassen; also regarding the newly-deciphered language generally used in writing, when Greek became quite extinct, called Arian, Arianian, Bactrian, and Caboolian, according to the supposed locality of its native use. Mr. James Prinsep, (whose laborious investigations had before been mainly instrumental in restoring the language of the ancient Indian kings who made treaties with Antiochus and Seleucus,) while examining coins with bilingual inscriptions, used the names given in Greek on one side, to find out those of the unknown language on the other. He thus obtained a key to the alphabet, and deciphered words which proved to be Pracrit (the vernacular form of Sanscrit), written semitically from right to left. There are still, however, some inscriptions in the Arian characters upon rocks and on the relics of topes and tumuli, remaining to reward further research.

Mohammedan to British Epoch.—In the beginning of the seventh century, when the Christian church was torn by dissensions and perplexed by heresies, and when the greater part of the inhabitants of Asia and of Africa were sunk in barbarism, enfeebled by sensuality, or enslaved by idolatry, there arose on the shores of the Red Sea, a Power, at once religious and militant, which rapidly attained and has since continued to exercise an extraordinary influence on the condition of one-third of the human race.

Arabia is considered by oriental writers to have been originally colonised by the posterity of Shem and Ham, the former having followed pastoral, the latter agricultural pursuits; to these were subsequently added a mixed race—the descendants of Abraham, through Ishmael, the son of Hagar the bondwoman.* The posterity of Ham, through Cush and Nimrod, his son and grandson, brought with them from Mesopotamia one of the most ancient languages (supposed to be the Himyaritic, still spoken in parts of the country), and the creed of the Patriarchs, or at least a portion of it; that is, the existence of one God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, of future rewards and punishments. A sense of sin and unworthiness probably induced "the adoration of heavenly spirits as mediators between man and one immutable Holy Being; and to these they raised temples and altars for sacrifices and supplications, to which were subsequently added fastings."† The sun and moon next became the objects of worship, at first probably as symbols; next followed the seven planets, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations. Almost every tribe had its peculiar idol, dead men were worshipped, and also angels or genii; some even denied all kinds of revelation, having sunk into the lowest depths of idolatry; but the descendants of Shem passed from pure Theism into Sabæism, or a belief in the peopling of the heavenly bodies with superior intelligences, by whom the lives and actions of men were regulated. The immigration of a few Jewish and Christian tribes had introduced among the more thoughtful, purer notions both of faith and practice; but these had made little progress among the mass of the people, who, as regarded their political and social state, were still, as they had been for ages, to a great extent isolated by poverty and by geographical position, from the rest of the world. Their country, consisting of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, has been aptly compared to the coasts and islands of a sea.‡ The desert was thinly scattered with small camps of predatory horsemen, who pitched their tents wherever a well of water could be found; and aided by the much-enduring camel, overspread extensive regions, to the great peril and anxiety of peaceful travellers. The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits; the various tribes formed distinct communities, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback or tedious marches, in the present caravanseray fashion. Each tribe acknowledged as its chief the representative of their common ancestor; but probably little check was ever imposed upon the liberty of individuals, save in rare cases, when the general interest imperatively demanded such interference. The physical features of the land and its scanty agricultural resources helped to foster the hardy and self-reliant character of its sons, who, unconnected by the strong ties of religious or commercial fellowship, and never compelled to unite against a foreign foe, found vent in the innumerable feuds which constantly spring up between independent tribes and families, for the warlike and roving instincts which seem so inseparably bound up with the wiry, lithesome, supple frame, and the fiery, yet imaginative and sensuous temperament, of the Arab.

Such a people, united for a common purpose under a common leader, might, it was evident, accomplish extraordinary results; and purpose and leader were presented to them in the person of a man, whose fame as a subjugator may be mentioned in the same page with that of Alexander the Great, and who, as a lawgiver, takes much higher rank—higher, that is, in the sense of having used and abused powers never entrusted to the Macedonian. Mohammed the False Prophet, was, beyond all doubt, intimately acquainted with both the Jewish and Chris-

* Ishmael is said to have married the daughter of Mozauz or Modhaugh, the sovereign of Hijaz.—(See tabular genealogies of these three tribes in Colonel Chesney's work on the Euphrates and Tigris, vol. i.)

The sons of Ham, *Cush*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and Canaan peopled parts of Western Asia, as well as Africa.

† *Ecchellensis*, *Chron. Orien.*, App., c. 6, p. 148.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 488.

tian scriptures, he recognised the mighty truths they contained, and the sharp weapons those truths would afford, wielded against idolatry. Incited by strangely-blended motives of ambition and fanaticism, he boldly defied the curse pronounced on those most impious of all deceivers, who shall dare to add unto, or take away from, the revealed word of God. (*Revelation, ch.* xxii. *v.* 18, 19.)

It is necessary to know something of his private life, before we can understand the steps by which an unknown enthusiast sprang suddenly into importance; and, gathering together with marvellous skill and energy the scattered tribes, formed them into a nation, prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and a sentence, and in short, induced them to abandon intestine strife and combine in a religious crusade. Mohammed was born A.D. 569, at Mecca, one of the oldest cities in the world, and belonged to the head family of the tribe of Koreish, who were the hereditary guardians of the great temple of Caaba, which is built round a well, supposed to be that miraculously pointed out to Hagar to save the life of Ishmael. Tradition declares the temple itself, or at least the first temple which existed on this site, to have been vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of Adam, who implored that he might be permitted to have a sanctuary like that in which he had worshipped in Eden. The prayer was granted, and in curtains of light a model of the paradisaical temple was let down, precisely beneath the spot where the original had stood. On this model Seth built a temple, which was swept away by the deluge, but rebuilt by Abraham and Isaac. The worship offered in the Caaba was at the beginning of the sixth century idolatrous, the chief objects being Abraham and Ishmael, to whose images, each holding a bunch of arrows, such as the Arabs use for divining, regular worship was offered. Thus Abraham, the divinely-commissioned witness against idolatry, became in process of time the object of the very crime he had so zealously condemned. With him and his son there appear to have been in all 360 gods, the number having probably reference to the days of the Persian year.

The chief command of the Caaba and of the city were vested in the same person, and to this double office of priest and chief Mohammed was presumptive heir, when the death of his father Abdallah before his grandfather, cut him off from the succession, and threw him a destitute orphan on the care of his uncle, Abu Taleb, who taught him the business of a merchant, and carried him on long trading journeys into Syria, thus giving him early insight into foreign countries and creeds. When but fourteen, Mohammed entered into a rancorous war that had broken out among the tribes, and greatly distinguished himself for courage and ability. Till twenty-five he remained in the service of his uncle, and then married Kadijah, the richly-endowed widow of a merchant of Mecca. Thus raised to independence, he was enabled to pursue the objects most congenial to his own mind; but the nature of his occupations for many years is unknown. Some suppose him to have employed that long interval in the study of various manuscripts, although throughout his life he constantly affirmed himself unable to read or write* a single word. It is very possible that, by the aid of a retentive memory, he might have obtained orally a great part, or even the whole, of the information he possessed, especially with regard to the unity of God, by intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, named Warka ben Naufel, who was skilled in Jewish learning, and is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic. He withdrew himself at length from all society, and spent long periods in complete solitude in the cave of Hara, near his native city, giving free scope to meditations, which brought him to the verge if not actually into the abyss of insanity, and opened a door for fancied visions and every species of mental delusion. At length, when about forty years of age, he declared his alleged mission to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family; and, some three or four years after, publicly announced himself as "the last and greatest of the prophets." He is represented as having been a man of middle size, singularly muscular, with a very large head, prominent forehead, eyebrows nearly meeting, but divided by a vein, which in times of excitement throbbed violently, black flashing eyes, aquiline nose, full and florid cheeks, large mouth, and small teeth of the most exquisite whiteness; glossy black hair fell over his shoulders, and a full beard flowed down upon his chest. His countenance is alleged to have been beautiful in the extreme, and to

* Perhaps the strongest presumption against the truth of this assertion, is the circumstance of his calling for a pen that he might write, while delirious, during his last illness. The request was refused.

have added not a little to the effect produced by his insinuating address and consummate eloquence upon the impressionable natures of his countrymen.* The creed he first taught was simply this:—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet;" and all who received and repeated this comprehensive formula were styled "true believers." The Koran he declared to be a perfect book, already written in heaven, but communicated to him in portions only, through the medium of the angel Gabriel. This provision enabled him to disseminate his doctrines gradually, to observe the manner in which they were received, and to modify and even change them at successive periods; but, at the same time, the very facility of obviating immediate difficulties, led to many discrepancies and contradictions in his pretended revelations. In spite, however, of much extravaganee, of the wildest dreams related as if sober realities, and, worse than all, of the glaring impiety of pleading the Divine command as a reason for intolerance and immorality, many chapters of the Koran are still remarkable as compositions.† They stamp their author as far superior to any existing writer of his country, and even exhibit him in the light of a reformer—for his religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament, and his morality, faulty indeed in comparison with the Christian code, was yet far purer than that then general in Arabia, for it must be remembered that Mohammed represented himself as privileged to break through at pleasure the very rules he most strenuously enforced on others. The Koran abounds in admonitions to spiritual and moral excellence, enunciates the necessary laws and directions for the guidance of Mohammedans, and especially enjoins the worship and reverence of the only true God, and resignation to his will. In the course of its 114 chapters, Adam, Noah, Moses, Joseph, David, Solomon, and other patriarchs, prophets, and kings, are referred to by name, the facts being evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, the fictions in which they are enveloped, from tradition, or more frequently from the teeming brain of the impostor. It seems almost profanation to mention the sacred name of the Great Redeemer in connection with the lying tales of the False Prophet. Suffice it to say that His divine mission is recognised in the Koran, but His divinity denied.

For ten years after the first public announcement of his alleged calling, Mohammed continued to play the part of a zealous and enduring missionary, suffering himself "to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck."‡ Persecution had its usual effect of drawing its object into notice; his doctrines gradually took root, until, upon the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Taleb, the rulers of Mecca determined on his destruction. He lost his faithful wife and earliest convert, Kadijah, about the same time, and a complete change came over him.

At Medina, 270 miles from Mecca, his doctrines had been favourably received, and a deputation from that city invited him to become its governor. He gladly fled thither, escaping, by stratagem, from a conspiracy formed in Mecca, leaving his young cousin Ali lying on his bed, covered with his well-known green robe. The Hejira or flight forms the era from which Mohammedans date; it occurred A.D. 622. On his arrival at Medina, whither all his converts followed him, he was immediately made governor. Many Jews and Christians then resided there, the latter he rather favoured, but the former as a nation incurred his bitter enmity, by indignantly rejecting his overtures to become proselytes, or to aid in making Jerusalem the head-quarters of the new creed. Once established at Medina he built a mosque, threw off his submissive attitude, and declared his intention of having recourse to arms in his own defence, and also for the conversion or extermination of infidels. He strengthened his cause by several marriages, and subsequently added to the number, as policy or inclination prompted, until he had fifteen, or as some say, twenty-one so-called legitimate wives—other men being allowed four at the utmost. The true secret of his success probably lay in the

* For a graphic and condensed account of the impostor and his early proceedings, see a published lecture on Mohammedanism, by the Rev. W. Arthur. Major Price's compendious *Mahommedan History* is an excellent book of reference, as well as of agreeable reading.

† "The style of the Koran," says its able translator, Mr. Sale, "is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scripture phrases: it is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the Eastern taste, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent."—(*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 44.)

‡ *Tarikhi Tabari;* quoted by Col. Kennedy, in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii.

force of his grand doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God, as contrasted with idolatry. This he declared was to be insisted upon everywhere, at the cost of life itself, which it was meritorious to lavish freely, whether that of believers in spreading the right faith, or of infidels to lessen their number. The enthusiastic Arabs were easily induced to unite as fellow-workers in an enterprize they believed enjoined by the direct command of God, and eagerly dared the fiercest contest in the battle-field, intoxicated by the lying words which asserted that "the sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."*

The first contest, which took place at Beder between 300 of the Mohammedans and 900 of the Koreish tribe, terminated in favour of the new sect, and laid the foundation of a great military empire, of such rapid growth, that when in the tenth year of the Hejira, and the sixty-third of his age, Mohammed lay writhing in the last struggles of the long agony of four years' duration, which followed the eating of the poisoned dish prepared by the persecuted Jews of Chaibar—not only was all Arabia united under his sway, but the king of Persia, the emperor of Rome, and the king of Ethiopia had been called upon to acknowledge his divine mission and receive the Koran: the dominions of the emperor (Heraelius) had indeed been actually invaded by a successful expedition into Syria. Yet this was but the nucleus of the singular power exercised by his successors, for instead of falling to pieces like a snow-ball in the contest for its possession, as might have been expected, since Mohammed, like Alexander, left no undoubted heir, the reins of government were placed by his followers in the hand of Abubekir, one of the earliest of the so-called "true believers," in spite of the opposition of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, who had expected to be chosen caliph and imaum.† Abubekir, fearing the revival of the domestic feuds of tribes or clans, forthwith proclaimed anew throughout the Arabian peninsula the favourite and convenient doctrine of the False Prophet, that fighting for religion was the most acceptable service which man could render to his Maker, and declared his intention of sending an army for the complete subjugation of Syria. The life and rule of Abubekir terminated in two years. In accordance with his desire, Omar, a noble citizen of Mecca, acceded to the supreme authority, with the title of "commander of the faithful." Under his vigorous rule the Arabs invaded Persia and utterly destroyed the second or Parthian empire, gained complete possession of Syria, after defeating 40,000 Greeks in a severe contest on the *Yermuk*, a river running into the lake of Tiberias, and, as a crowning triumph, compelled the surrender of Jerusalem, for which, as the "city of the prophets," Mohammed had always professed high veneration.

Egypt was over-run by Khaled, a general whose victories had procured from Mohammed the title of "the sword of God," and Alexandria was speedily added to the brilliant roll of Mussulman conquests. The great abilities, united to extreme simplicity and purity of life, which distinguished Omar, doubtless contributed to the spread of the doctrines and temporal sway of the people he governed. At the expiration of ten years he was slain while praying in the mosque, by a Persian, whose rage was excited by being obliged to pay two pieces of silver daily, as a penalty for refusing to abjure his faith—the alternatives offered by the Mohammedans, being "the Koran, tribute, or the sword." The large majority of the conquered chose the first, especially in Persia, where a lifeless form of government and a fantastic and superstitious creed, needed but a slight shock to hasten the progress of decay, and crumble into dust, to be moulded anew and receive vital energy, in greater or less degree, according to the will and ability of the first dominant power which might be brought to bear upon it. The doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God was received by the Persians as a mighty truth, divinely revealed to man, as it really was, notwithstanding the false and distorted medium through which it reached them, and it must have peculiarly commended itself to all who had seriously considered the

* The *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, contains a detailed account of the rise and progress of the Moslem empire, written with all the power and caustic irony peculiar to Gibbon.

† That is, civil and spiritual ruler, or high-pontiff.

subject of religion, by freeing them from the enthralment of a cowardly and degrading system, which taught men to seek the aid or deprecate the wrath of beings who added to superhuman influence the worst vices of fallen creatures.

Othman succeeded Omar, but quickly displeased his generals, and at the close of a turbulent reign of twelve years, was besieged in his own house, and after a long defence, murdered with the Koran on his knee. Ali was at length elected caliph, notwithstanding the rivalry of Mauwiyah, the lieutenant of Syria, but assassinated within five years in Persia, while entering a mosque for evening worship. His son and successor Hassan, was defeated by Mauwiyah and abdicated in his favour. The new caliph, the founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades, extended the dominion of the Arabs to the Atlantic, having subjugated all Roman or Northern Africa.

In A.D. 713, Spain was subdued, and the Mussulmans continued to advance until they had reached the heart of France, but were met on the Loire, in 732, between Poitiers and Tours, by Charles Martel, and utterly routed.

The last caliph of the dynasty of the Ommiades (Merwan) was slain in a sedition raised by the descendants of Abbas, Mohammed's uncle. The second prince of this dynasty built the city of Bagdad and removed the seat of government thither; the fifth was the famous Haroun al Rashid. Under the Abbassides learning flourished and the original simplicity of the court gave way to luxury and magnificence, but the coherent strength of the now vast empire was on the decline, and a gradual but sure progress of dismemberment commenced. In Spain, a branch of the Ommiades maintained an independent sway; Khorassan and Transoxiana became virtually independent, and in Egypt, descendants of Fatima, (daughter of Mohammed and wife to Ali,) established a distinct caliphate. The fortunes of these new powers will be noticed when connected with India, as also those of the Seljuk tribe, whose barbarities at Jerusalem (under the dreaded name of Saracens) provoked the nations of Christendom to attempt the rescue of the Holy Land; but the struggle carried on there for nearly three centuries, never immediately affected the centre of the Mohammedan empire, which continued at Bagdad for about 500 years. Mustassem was caliph when Hulaku, a descendant of the celebrated Jengis Khan, besieged and captured Bagdad. The cruel victor, after mocking his wretched prisoner with vain hopes until he had obtained his hidden treasures, exposed him for some days to the lingering torments of starvation, and then, under the pretence of unwillingness to shed his blood, caused him to be wrapped in coarse camlet, and rolled about on the ground until he expired. Thus perished the last of the Abbassides, A.D. 1258. In the city alone, 800,000 persons, or according to some authorities, a much greater number were slain, so that the Tigris was dyed with gore.

Indo-Arabic Conquests. — In A.D. 664, a large force marched from Merv to Cabool, and made converts of upwards of 12,000 persons. At the same time, Mohalib, (afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia,) proceeded thence with a detachment in the direction of India, penetrated to Moultan, and having plundered the country, triumphantly rejoined the army at Khorassan, bringing with him many captives, who were compelled to declare themselves converts to the Moslem*creed. No further attempt is recorded as having been made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule, but the prince of Cabool appears to have been rendered tributary, if not subject to the caliphs, since his revolt is mentioned by Ferishta,† as the occasion of a new invasion of his territories eighteen years later. The Arabs at this period met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of Mohammed is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels. This disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Seestan,

* Islam, derived from an Arabic root, signifies "the true faith," Moslem or Mussulman a believer therein.

† Mohammed Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, resided at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., at Beejapoor, about the close of the sixteenth century, and, sustained by royal patronage and assistance in collecting authorities, wrote a history of the rise of the Mohammedan power in India till the year 1612, which has been ably translated from the original Persian by Colonel Briggs. A considerable portion of it had been previously rendered into English by Colonel Dow, but the value of his work is lessened by mistranslations, and also by being largely interspersed with reflections and facts collated from other sources, which, though often interesting and important in themselves, are so closely interwoven with the text as to leave the reader in doubt regarding the portion which actually rests on the testimony of Ferishta.

and yet more completely by Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, who in A.D. 699, led a powerful army in person against the city, and reduced the greater part of the country to subjection. A quarrel with Hejaj, the governor of Bassora, led Abdurehman into rebellion against the reigning caliph (Abdelmelek, one of the Ommiades), whereupon he formed an alliance with his former enemy, the prince of Cabool, in whose dominions he was compelled to take refuge, and at length, to avoid being given up to his enemies, committed suicide.*

The nation to which this prince of Cabool belonged is rendered doubtful by the position of his capital at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisan Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining each other. Elphinstone supposes him to have been a Persian, and considers it very improbable that he could have been an Afghan, as Cabool is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation.

At this period the northern portion of the tract included in the branches of the Hindoo Coosh, and now inhabited by the Eimaks and Hazarehs, was known by the name of the mountains of Ghor, and probably occupied by Afghans, as also the middle part, all of which seems to have been included in the mountains of Soliman.† The southern portion, known by the name of the mountains of Mekran, were inhabited by Beloochees as at present; and the other ridges connected with the same range as those of Ghor, but situated to the east of the range of Imaus and Soliman, were probably tenanted by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ. Ferishta seems to have been led by their traditions to believe the Afghans‡ to have been converted to Mohammedanism in the life-time of its originator, and represents them as invading the territory of the Hindoos as early as A.H. 63, and as afterwards continually engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Lahore, until, in conjunction with the Gukkurs (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they obtained from him a cession of territory, secretly engaging in return to protect him from the attacks of other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact that the princes of the house of Samani never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory incursions to Sinde. Ferishta further mentions that the Afghans gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sinde in the second century of the Hejira. §

This account is on the whole sufficiently probable. The Afghans may have willingly received the Koran ‖ long before their subjugation by Sultan Mahmood. On the subject of their early religion, Mohammedan historians afford no light, owing to their not distinguishing denominations of infidels. Arab descents on Sinde by sea are mentioned as early as the caliphate of Omar, but they were probably piratical expeditions, undertaken for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia. Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mekran (the Gedrosia of Alexander), during the reigns of the early caliphs, but all failed owing to the impracticable character of this barren region.

At length, in the reign of the caliph Walid, an Arab ship laden with slave-girls and rarities from Sinde having been seized at Dival or Dewal, a sea-port connected with Sinde (supposed to be the site of the modern Kurrachee), the rajah, named Dahir by the Mussulmans, was called on for restitution. The capital of this prince was at Alor, near Bukkur, and he possessed Moultan and all Sinde, with, perhaps, the adjoining plain of the Indus, as far as the mountains at Calabagh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably

* *Kholasat al Akhbar*, and the *Tarikhi Tabari*, quoted by Price (vol. i., pp. 455—463).

† Elphinstone, vol. i., 496. I am informed by Mr. Masson, on the authority of Mirza Sami, the minister of Dost Mohammed, who corrected the mistake made by Sir A. Burnes on the subject in his presence, that the term Hindoo Coosh is especially given to the high peak of the range to which it belongs, immediately overhanging Ghosband, although it is applied, in ordinary parlance, to some extent of the range stretching east or north-east.

‡ Ferishta records, on the authority of the Mutla-ool-Anwar, a work supposed to be no longer extant, but which he describes as written by a respectable author, that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs, many of whom, after the overthrow of the infidel monarch and his host in the Red Sea, became converts to the true faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, continued obstinate, and, leaving their country, came to India and settled in the Soliman Mountains under the name of Afghans. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 6.) The people themselves claim descent from Afghaun, grandson of Saul, king of Israel.

§ A quarter of the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabool, retains the name of Arabah, and its occupants are of Arabic descent.

‖ The Tartar nations, China, the Malay country, and the Asiatic islands, afford evidence of the propagation of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.

on the feudal tenure still common among the Rajpoots. Dahir refused compliance with the demand of Walid, on the ground that Dewal was not subject to his authority; the excuse was deemed unsatisfactory, and a body of 1,000 infantry and 300 horse were despatched to Sinde; but this inadequate force perished like its predecessors on the road. Hejaj, the before-mentioned governor of Bassora, prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shiraz, and entrusted the command to his son-in-law, Mohammed Casim, then only twenty years of age. By him the troops were safely conducted to the walls of Dewal, A.H. 92 (A.D. 711). Casim, being provided with catapultas and other engines, commenced operations by attacking a celebrated pagoda without the city, surrounded by a high enclosure of hewn stone, and occupied, in addition to the numerous Brahmin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The Arab leader having learned that the safety of the place was believed to be connected with that of the sacred standard displayed on the tower of the temple, directed his engines against this object, and having succeeded in bringing it to the ground, the dismay of the besieged soon terminated in surrender. The town was likewise taken, and a rich booty obtained. The Brahmins rejected the proposed test of conversion—circumcision: all above the age of seventeen were put to death, and the remainder, with the women, reduced to slavery. Brahmanabad, Neron Kow (now Hyderabad), Sehwan, and Salem* were in turn reduced, and Casim, strengthened by a reinforcement of 2,000 horse from Persia, continued to advance, notwithstanding the opposition of a powerful force under the rajah's eldest son, until he reached the neighbourhood of Alor or Abhor, where he was confronted by the rajah himself, at the head of 40,000 men. The disproportion of numbers rendered retreat or advance equally hazardous for the invader, who prudently ensconced his small force† in a strong position, and awaited the attack of the Hindoos, anxiously watching for any error or disaster which might create disorder among their unwieldy ranks. Such a circumstance occurred at an early period of the engagement. A naptha fire-ball struck the rajah's elephant, and the terrified animal becoming absolutely ungovernable, rushed from the field of battle and plunged into the adjacent river Indus. Dahir, although severely wounded by an arrow, mounted his war-horse and returned immediately to the scene of action, but the disappearance of the leader had produced its usual effect on an Asiatic army; the fortune of the day was already decided; and the brave rajah, after vainly attempting to rally his panic-stricken forces, plunged into the midst of the Arab cavalry, and, with a small band of trusty followers, fell covered with wounds. His son fled to Brahmanabad, but his widow collected the remains of the routed army and successfully defended the city, until famine within the walls proved a more powerful enemy than the sword without. Inflamed by her example, a body of Rajpoots resolved to devote themselves and their families to death, after the manner of their tribe. When all hope of deliverance had fled, they bathed, and with other ceremonies took leave of each other and the world; the women and children were then sacrificed on a funereal pile, and the men, headed by the widow of Dahir, flung open the gates of the fortress, and all perished in an attack on the Mohammedan camp. The city was then carried by storm, those who remained in arms were slaughtered, and their families reduced to bondage.

A last desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Moultan seems to have fallen without resistance, and every part of the dominions of the ill-fated Dahir‡ was gradually subjected. Each city was called upon to embrace the religion of Mohammed or to pay tribute; in default of both, an assault was commenced, and unless saved by timely capitulation, the fighting men were put to death and their families sold for slaves. Four cities held out to the last extremity; and in two of them the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is esti-

* The site of Brahmanabad is supposed by Burnes to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta (*Travels*, vol. iii., p. 31), but Captain M'Murdo (*R. A. S. Journal*, No. I., p. 28), thinks it must have been situated on the other side of the present course of the Indus, much farther to the north-east. Sehwan still retains its ancient name. The site of Salem is doubtful.

† It is stated in a work, abstracted from the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan, and translated and published by Shahamet Ali (a native gentleman in the service of the British government), under the title of the *History of Bahawalpur* (London, 1848), that a Brahmin of great ability forsook his master, the rajah, previous to the final conflict, and afforded great assistance to Casim; if so, he was probably accompanied by other deserters.

‡ In the history of Sinde, translated by the late Captain Postans, it is asserted that Dahir ruled Cabool, as well as Sinde, and coins have been found

mated at 6,000 each. The merchants, artizans, and such like were exempt from molestation, beyond what must have been inseparably connected with the storming of a town. When the payment of tribute was agreed to, the sovereign retained his territory, simply becoming amenable to the usual relations of a tributary prince, and the people retained all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion.

Casim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have united to military talents of the first order, discretion and ability to keep by conciliatory measures what he had gained by violence.* Several Hindoo princes were induced to join him during the war, and at its conclusion he re-appointed the Hindoo prime minister of Dahir to his previous office, on the express ground that he was best qualified to protect old rights, and maintain established institutions.

The conquest and occupation of Sinde being completed, the victor organised an army on a large scale.† By some writers he is alleged to have accomplished a triumphant march to Canouj on the Ganges, establishing a Mohammedan garrison in every large town on his route, when a sudden blow from a most unexpected source terminated at once his projects and his life. Among the females captured at Sinde were the two daughters of the ill-fated rajah, who, from their beauty and high rank, were deemed worthy to grace the seraglio of the Commander of the Faithful. There they remained until the year of the Hejira 96 (A.D. 714), when Walid became enamoured of the elder sister, who vehemently declared herself unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Casim before being sent from her own country. The enraged caliph, in the first headlong impulse of passion, wrote with his own hand an order to Casim, that he should cause himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and thus embrace the fate which he deserved. The faithful subject literally obeyed this tyrannical mandate, and his body was sent to Damascus. The caliph showed it to the princess, as evidence of the fate which attended those who dared insult the "deputy of the prophet," upon which she exultingly declared that his ill-fated servant was wholly innocent of the crime attributed to him, and had fallen a victim to her successful stratagem, planned to revenge the death of her father, mother, brother, and countrymen. This strange and romantic incident is recorded with little variation by Mohammedan historians, and it is perfectly consistent with the determined character of the Hindoo women, where the objects of their affections are concerned, and also with the pure and unhesitating self-devotion repeatedly evinced by the servants of the caliphs.‡

The conquests of Casim were made over to his successor Temim, whose family possessed them for about thirty-six years, that is, until the downfall of the house of Ommia, A.D. 750, when the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rajpoot tribe of Sumera, and their territories restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly 500 years. Part of the expelled Arabs found refuge, (as before stated) among the Afghans.

Such is the account given by Elphinstone, on the authority of Ferishta and the Ayeen Akbery—but in the *History of Bahawalpur*, since published, it is asserted that on the expulsion of the Ommia dynasty and the accession of Abul Abbas, governors were sent out by him to Sinde and the Punjaub. But little resistance was made, and the Abbas house continued in the enjoyment of their Indian acquisitions without molestation, until the caliphate of Kader-Billah, that is, for a period of 286 lunar years, at the expiration of which the formidable enemy of Hindoo independence, Mahmood of Ghuznee, appeared on the stage.

These statements are quite contradictory; but whatever degree of influence or authority the Arabs may have retained after the check given by the death of their leader, Casim, it is certain that neither their power nor their creed spread, but rather diminished from that moment. The passive courage of the Hindoos generally, as well as the more active bravery of the Rajpoots, associated especially with a devoted attachment to a religion closely interwoven with their laws and customs—opposed great obstacles to invaders, even more desirous of converting than of conquering them. Besides this, the great change which took place in the spirit of the Mohammedan rulers, rendered their antagonism far less dangerous. The rude soldiers of Arabia, who had raised the

with Nagari legends, which Mr. Masson reads as referring to Sri Dahir, but Professor Wilson, to Sri Mahe.

* A Persian MS., the *Tarikhi Hind o Sind*, preserved in the India House, is the source whence most accounts of Casim's military transactions are derived.

† About 50,000 Mohammedans are said to have collected around his standard on this occasion.

‡ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 410.

wild war ery of Islam, passed away; sueeeeding generations filled their plaee, reared less hardily, while their ehiefs in an absorbing desire for luxury and magnifieenee at home, eared little for the dear-bought triumphs of vietory and the glory of their standard abroad. Omar set out to join his army at Jerusalem, (in eomplianee with the stipulation of the Christians that he should personally reeeive the surrender of the holy plaee), with his arms and provisions on the same eamel with himself; and Othman extinguished his lamp, when he had finished the neeessary labours of the day, that the publie oil might not be expended on his enjoyments. Al Mahdi, within a eentury from the last-named ruler, loaded 500 eamels with iee and snow; and the profusion of one day of the Abbassides would have defrayed all the expenses of the four first ealiphs. Thus it was left to other Mussulman nations, and to dynasties formed during the gradual dismemberment of the great Arab empire, to establish permanent dominion in India.

*House of Ghuznee.**—To understand the origin of this powerful family, it is neeessary to retraee our steps, and briefly notiee the eountry from whenee they eame.

After the eonquest of Persia, the Oxus beeame the northern Arab frontier: on the opposite side lay a traet of eountry (bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, and on the east by Mount Imaus,) to whieh they gave the name of Mawer ul Nahr, literally *Beyond the River*, but eommonly translated Transoxania. It eomprised mueh desert ground, intermingled with traets of remarkable fertility, and was oeeupied partly by settled inhabitants, who were ehiefly Persians, and partly by nomadie and pastoral tribes, eomprehended under the vague and general name of Tartars.† To whieh of the three great nations, eommonly ineluded in European writings under this head, the people of Transoxania belonged at this period, whether Turks, Moguls, or Manehoos, is still undetermined; but the first-named people are generally supposed to have formed the bulk of the wandering and also a seetion of the permanent population. It was more than half a eentury after the subjugation of Persia and five years before the oeeupation of Sinde, that the Arabs erossed the Oxus under Catiba, governor of Khorassan, and after eight years spent in a contest, with varying sueeess, Transoxiana was subjeeted to the sway of the ealiphs, A.D. 713. In 806, a revolt oeeurred, whieh the son and suceessor of Haroun al Rasehid, Mamoon, was enabled to quell, and afterwards by residing in Khorassan, to retain authority over that provinee. But on the removal of the eourt to Bagdad, Taher, who had been the prineipal instrument of Mamoon's elevation to the ealiphate, to the detriment of his brother Ameen, established independent authority in Khorassan and Transoxiana, whieh were never again united to the rapidly deeaying empire.

The family of Taher were deposed after about fifty years' rule, by the Sofarides, whose founder Yaeub ben Leith, a brazier of Seestan, eommeneed by raising a revolt in his native provinee, afterwards overran Persia,‡ and died while maeching to attaek the ealiph in Bagdad. At the expiration of forty years, the Samanis, a family of distinetion, whose members had held governments under Mamoon while he resided in Khorassan, and afterwards under the Taherites, superseded the Sofarides and took possession of their territory, nominally in behalf of the ealiph, but really without any refereneo to his authority. It was in the reign of Abdelmelek, the fifth prinee of this dynasty, that Aluptugeen, the founder of the kingdom of Ghuznee, rose into importanee. He was of Turkish deseent, and had been a slave, but his royal master reeognising his ability, had appointed him to various offiees of trust, and at length to the government of Khorassan. On the death of his patron, a deputation was sent to eonsult Aluptugeen respeeting the ehoiee of a sueeessor from the royal family, and having given his suffrage against Mansoor the presumptive heir, on aeeount of his extreme youth, he ineurred the ill-will of this prinee, (who had meantime been raised to the throne,) was deprived of his offiee, and but for the

* Ghuznee, otherwise spelt *Ghizni* and *Ghazni*.

† Tod, referring to De Guignes, says—the Heong-nou and the Ou-houn, the Turks and Moguls, were called "Tatar," from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtish, along the mountains of Altai, to the shores of the Yellow Sea. De Guignes invariably maintains Heong-nou to be but another name for the Turks, among whom he places Attila and the majority of his army, whose hideous physiognomy and savage manners lent a fearful prestige to their desolating marches. Another division of the same branch of the Heong-nou had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and acquired the name of the White Huns, from their changed complexion.—(*Histoire generale des Huns.*)

‡ He likewise subjugated Cabool.—(*Mr. Thomas.*)

fidelity of a trusty band of adherents, aided by his own military skill, would have lost liberty, if not life. At Ghuznee, in the heart of the Soliman mountains, the fugitive found safety, accompanied by 3,000 disciplined slaves (*Mameluks*). Here he was probably joined by soldiers who had served under him, as well as by the hill Afghans, who, even though they might not acknowledge his authority, would be readily induced by wages to enter his service. In his flight Aluptugeen was attended by a faithful slave named Subuktugeen, brought by a merchant from Turkistan to Bokhara.* Following the example of his early benefactor, he had fostered the abilities of the youth until, on the establishment of a kingdom in Ghuznee, he rewarded the service of his adherent, both as a counsellor and general, by the titles of Ameer-ool-Omra (chief of the nobles) and Vakeel-i-Mootluk (representative). He is even said to have named him as his successor, but authorities differ on this point, some stating that Subuktugeen acceded immediately to the throne on the demise of Aluptugeen, A.D. 975; others, that he was chosen, on the death of that monarch's son and successor, two years later, by general consent of the chiefs, and then married the daughter of his patron. Having been recognised by the caliph Mansoor as governor of Ghuznee, he had, consequently, nothing to dread from that quarter, but was speedily called upon to make preparations against Jeipal (*Jaya Pala*), rajah of Lahore, who, alarmed by the growing power of a Mohammedan ruler so near his frontier, and already harassed by frequent incursions, determined in turn to become the assailant. At the head of a large army he crossed the Indus, marched to Laghman at the mouth of the valley which extends from Peshawer to Cabool, and was there met by Subuktugeen. Some skirmishes ensued, but a general engagement was prevented by a terrible tempest of thunder, wind, and hail, in which some thousands of both armies were said to have perished. This disaster was attributed to supernatural causes;† and the Hindoos, less accustomed than their hardy foes to the extreme vicissitudes of climate, and probably more superstitious, proposed terms of peace, to which Subuktugeen, notwithstanding the opposition of his warlike son Mahmood, then a mere boy, at length consented, on representation being made to him of the determined courage of the Hindoos, especially the Rajpoots, when driven to the last extremity. Jeipal surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money, but on regaining the shelter of his own dominions, fear gave way to resentment, and, forfeiting his pledge, he imprisoned the messengers sent to demand its redemption. Hostilities re-commenced; the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmeer, Calinjar, and Canouj,‡ made common cause with their countrymen; and when the rival forces again met in Laghman, the Ghuznee sovereign, having ascended a height to ascertain the disposition of the enemy, beheld the whole plain covered with an almost countless host, comprising 100,000 horse and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Undaunted by the prospect, and considering himself "as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep," Subuktugeen divided his troops into squadrons of 500 men each, and directed them to attack successively one particular point of the dense line of the enemy, which would thus be continually compelled to encounter fresh troops. The manœuvre succeeded in occasioning some disorder, which was the signal for a general assault; the Hindoos gave way, and were driven with dreadful slaughter beyond the Indus, up to which point Subuktugeen at once took possession, levied heavy contributions in addition to the plunder found in the camp, and left an officer, supported by 10,000 horse, as governor of Peshawer. The Afghans and Khiljis (a distinct Tartar tribe) tendered allegiance, and furnished useful recruits. He then employed himself in consolidating his own dominions, which now extended on the west beyond Candahar, until an appeal for help from his nominal sovereign Noah (the seventh of the Samanis) against the inroads of the Hocike Tartars, who then possessed all Tartary as far east as China, induced him again to have recourse to arms.

* He is alleged to have been lineally descended from Yezdijerd, the last of the Persian monarchs, who when flying from his enemies during the caliphate of Othman, was murdered while sleeping at a water-mill near the town of Meru. His family being left in Turkistan formed connections among the people, and his descendants became Turks.

† Prince Mahmood learning that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure were thrown, a fearful storm would arise, caused this to be done and the predicted result immediately followed.—(*Ferishta.*) The fact of there being near Laghman, a spot subject to tempests of extraordinary severity, renders this tale interesting.

‡ These princes were all of the Pala family, and consequently related to the rajah of Lahore.

So efficient was the assistance rendered, that Noah, reinstated in his authority, recognised the right of Subuktugeen over all his acquisitions, and conferred the government of Khorassan on Mahmood, with the title of Syf-ood-Dowla (Sword of the State). This arrangement was almost immediately disturbed by the death of the two chief parties, and the changes and dissensions which arose in their dominions.

Mahmood, being absent at the time of his father's demise, was supplanted in his claim to the succession by his brother Ismael, whom, after defeating in a pitched battle, he captured and imprisoned for the rest of his life, mitigating however the severity of the sentence by every indulgence consistent with such a situation. During the seven months spent in establishing himself in Ghuznee, events occurred in Bokhara very detrimental to his interests. The new king, Mansoor II., fell into the power of the old enemies of his family, and by the influence of Elik Khan the Tartar sovereign, was compelled to receive Faik, one of his most turbulent and rebellious nobles, as his prime minister or rather master. The application of Mahmood to be continued in the government of Khorassan was abruptly rejected, and soon afterwards some court intrigues led to the unhappy Mansoor's being dethroned and blinded, whereupon Abdulmelek was elected his successor as the instrument of Faik, A.D. 999. On this, Mahmood ordered the name of the Samanis to be omitted in the public prayers; took possession of Khorassan in his own behalf; and having received an investiture from the reigning caliph (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed) proclaimed the independence of his sway. He is henceforth commonly termed Sultan, an old Arabic word signifying king, but this title is not found upon his coins.* He next made peace with, and married the daughter of Elik Khan, who had secured his share in the spoil of a falling dynasty by seizing on Transoxiana, and had thus put an end to the dominion of the Samanis after it had lasted 120 years. Mahmood was now little more than thirty years of age. The vigour and ambition of his mind were in accordance with his athletic and well-proportioned frame, but, greedy of personal distinction of every kind, he considered the *mens sana in corpore sano* insufficient compensation for an ordinary stature, and features disfigured with the small pox in a manner, which at least in his youth, he bitterly regretted, as calculated to mar the effect of the splendid pageants in which he delighted to form the chief object. For Mahmood, famous warrior as he afterwards and had indeed already proved himself, could not as a legislator bear comparison with his vaunted teacher Mohammed, and was very far from uniting the comprehensive ability of the statesman to the sword of the conqueror, like his mighty predecessor in India, Alexander; who, heedless of the externals of royalty, lavished gold and jewels upon his followers until his own coffers were empty,† and—superior to the vanity which led his successors to stamp their resemblance on coins and images, cared so little for this species of notoriety, that of his kingly form no popular notion remains, save that connected with the keen intelligence of the eye, and the peculiar carriage of the head, dwelt on by cotemporaries as his peculiar characteristics.

The vice of covetousness, in the indulgence of which Mahmood's intense selfishness found constant gratification, gradually swallowed up the higher qualities of his intellect, as well as the better feelings of his heart. It had probably been early stimulated by the rich booty captured during his father's war with Jeipal, and by reports of the immense stores of wealth heaped around idolatrous shrines, which it was the duty of every "true believer" to pillage and destroy. The unsettled state of the surrounding nations offered a wide scope for his ambition, but Indian conquest appears to have been his paramount desire. Having therefore, as before stated, entered into a friendly alliance with Elik Khan and made arrangements for the government of his own dominions, he proceeded with 10,000 chosen horse to invade India, A.D. 1001. Near Peshawer he was met by his father's old antagonist, the rajah of Lahore, whom, after totally defeating, he made prisoner. From thence the conqueror pursued his victorious march beyond the Sutlej, to the fort of Ba-

* *Sultan*, first stamped by the Seljuk, Toghral Beg, was assumed in Ghuznee some fifteen years later by Ibrahim, A.D. 1060. (Thomas, on *Ghazni Coins.*)

† Alexander was reproached by his mother for placing his friends on a level with princes, by his unbounded generosity. Mahmood when dying ordered his treasures to be spread out before him, and shed bitter tears at the thought of parting with them, but distributed no portion among the faithful adherents who had assisted him in their acquisition.

tinda,* which he stormed, and then returned to Ghuznee with the rich spoils of the camp and country, including sixteen necklaces, one of which, belonging to Jeipal, was valued at 180,000 dihnars,† or £81,000.

In the ensuing spring the Hindoo prisoners were released on payment of a heavy ransom, but the Afghan chiefs who had joined them were put to death. Jeipal himself returned to his kingdom, and having made over his authority to his son Anung Pal, bravely met the fate a mistaken creed assigned as a duty to a sovereign twice conquered by a foreign foe; and mounting a pyre which he had caused to be prepared, set it on fire and perished in the flames. Anung Pal *(Ananda Pala)* appears to have at first endeavoured to fulfil his father's engagement, but the rajah of Bhatia,‡ a dependency of Lahore, on the eastern side of Moultan, refused to furnish his quota of the stipulated tribute, upon which the sultan proceeded in person to enforce it (A.D. 1004), and drove the offending rajah, first from a well-defended intrenchment, and then from a strong fortress, until the fugitive, in despair, finding himself pursued even among the thickets of the Indus, where he had hoped for refuge, and being at the point of capture, turned his sword against his own breast: the majority of his remaining adherents perished in vainly endeavouring to avenge his death.

After annexing Bhatia and its dependencies the conqueror departed, bearing away as usual much booty of various kinds, including 280 elephants and many captives.

A third expedition into India was soon undertaken against the Afghan ruler of Moultan, Abul Futteh Lodi, the grandson of the chief who had joined Subuktugeen after his first victory over the Hindoos. Abul, although educated as a Mussulman, had "abandoned the tenets of the faithful,"§ and what Mahmood considered of more importance, thrown off his political allegiance, and entered into a close alliance with Anung Pal, who, on learning the approach of their joint foe, advanced to intercept him, but was defeated near Peshawer, pursued to Sodra (near Vizirabad) on the Chenab, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmere. Moultan was then besieged, but at the end of seven days a compromise was effected, the revolting chief promising implicit obedience for the future and the payment of an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhems;‖ terms which Mahmood was only too glad to grant, having received intelligence of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of Elik Khan. The ties of relationship had not sufficed to prevent the encroaching Tartar from endeavouring to take advantage of the unprotected state in which his son-in-law had left his home possessions, while intent on aggressive incursions abroad. Hoping to acquire Khorassan without difficulty, he despatched one force to Herat and another to Balkh to take possession. But he had formed too low an estimate of the energy of the opponent he had wantonly provoked. Committing the charge of his acquisitions on the Indus to Sewuk Pal, a Hindoo who had embraced Mohammedanism, Mahmood immediately proceeded by long and rapid marches to Ghuznee, and thence to

* Situated in an almost inaccessible tract inhabited by the Bhattis or Shepherds. Though surrounded by a sort of desert, the rajah resided here, alternately with his capital Lahore, probably as a measure of security. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, from the Persian of Ali Mohammed Khan.

† Valuing the dihnar at nine shillings.

‡ Site disputed, generally considered to be the present Bhulneer.

§ Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 40. This expression probably alludes to a supposed falling into heterodoxy rather than paganism. Sects and dissensions had early arisen among the Mohammedans, and increased until they amounted to seventy-three, the number said to have been foretold by Mohammed. These may be classed under two heads. The believers, generally deemed orthodox, are included under the term *Sonnites* (or traditionists), because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, a collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their founder, which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, answering in name and design to the Mishna of the Jews. The Sonnites regard the Koran as uncreated and eternal, in opposition to the Motazalites (or separatists) and others, who maintain such an assertion to be rank infidelity; and some caliphs of the Abbas family (Motassem and Wathek) endeavoured to suppress it by punishing its advocates with whipping, imprisonment, and even death. An account of the numerous false prophets who sprang up, in imitation of the arch-deceiver himself, is ably given in the introduction to Sale's Koran; among them figures Mokanna, the veiled prophet, the hero of Moore's most popular production. The *Sheiahs*, a term signifying sectaries or adherents in general, is peculiarly applied to the followers of Ali, who hold him to have been the rightful Caliph and Imaum, or high pontiff, (by virtue of his birth, of his marriage with Fatima, and of his having been the first independent person who recognised the mission of Mohammed,) and consider the supreme authority both temporal and spiritual inalienably vested in his descendants. The Persians are mostly Sheiahs; the Turks generally come under the head of Sonnites, and these, like many less conspicuous sects, are in direct opposition to each other.

‖ The value of the silver dirhem is about fivepence; that of the golden one, Colonel Briggs states, is not estimated in any work he has examined.

Balkh, whence the intruders fled, as did the troops at Herat, before the force detached for their expulsion.

Elik Khan, alarmed at the turn of affairs, applied for assistance to Kadr Khan of Khoten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened he crossed the Oxus and was met near Balkh by Mahmood, who had employed even more than wonted skill in the arrangement of his resources. Not the least of these was a body of 500 elephants, captured at various times from the Hindoos, the mere sight of which would, he rightly conjectured, check the fury of the Tartar charge, and probably succeed in breaking their line: but being well aware that failing in this, these timid and unwieldy, though sagacious and gentle creatures, would, as he had often witnessed, becoming alarmed and injured, rush back furiously on their masters, he stationed them at intervals among the troops, leaving free way for their retreat in the event of a repulse. This forethought, however, proved needless. Both armies advanced with impetuosity to the charge, and Elik Khan, attended by his guards, attacked the centre of the army of Mahmood, who, perceiving his intention, leaped from his horse, and after (as was his wont, on the eve of any great struggle) prostrating himself on the ground and invoking the aid of the Almighty,—mounted an elephant and advanced to meet his assailant. The well-trained animal seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft, to the dismay of his companions. The Ghuznevides urged on the other elephants and pressed forward themselves to support their leader; the Tartars were driven off the field with prodigious slaughter, and Elik Khan escaped across the Oxus with a few attendants, having received a severe lesson not again to meddle with the dominions of his warlike relative. But for the inclemency of the season, it being the winter of 1006, he might have fared still worse; for Mahmood, after two days' pursuit, was not without great reluctance compelled to return to his capital by the intense cold, from which some hundreds of his men and horses perished.*

Meanwhile Sewuk Pal, the renegade Hindoo governor, had relapsed into idolatry and expelled all the officers appointed by Mahmood, who, marching to India, detached a body of cavalry in advance, by whom the offender was surprised and captured. His sentence was a heavy fine and imprisonment for life.†

In the spring of 1008, the Sultan assembled a large army and set out on his fourth Indian expedition, on the plea of revenging the opposition he had received during the hostilities in Moultan from Anung Pal, who, on becoming aware of his danger, sent ambassadors to the Hindoo princes on all sides, urging them to unite for the protection of their religion and independence. The appeal was successful; the rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Calinjar, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced into the Punjaub with an army, whose magnitude so astonished Mahmood, that instead of displaying his usual alacrity to meet danger, he halted in the presence of the enemy, took up a position near Peshawer, and remained forty days in a defensive attitude. It must have seemed to him as if the whole male population of Hindoostan had come, *en masse*, to obstruct his progress, and to die, if necessary, in the attempt. Their numbers and enthusiasm daily increased, contributions constantly arrived from the women of distant parts, who sold their jewels and melted down their ornaments to provide ample resources for the defence of their country, and the Gukkurs and other warlike troops rallying round the

* On the third night of the pursuit a violent storm of wind and snow occurred. The army remained unsheltered, but the royal tents had with much difficulty been pitched and heated by stoves, so that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments. One of them came in shivering with cold, which Mahmood perceiving, addressed him with—"Go, Dilchuk, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering—here we defy his power." Dilchuk went out, and returning, declared that he had delivered his message, and the surly season replied, that though he might fail to touch royalty or its immediate retainers, yet he would so evince his power over the army that in the morning the sultan might be compelled to saddle his own horse. With all his faults, Mahmood seems to have been neither irascible nor tyrannical in his bearing towards those about him. The reproof thus wittily conveyed is said to have induced him to renounce the idea of further advance, but the distressing scenes of death and suffering manifested by the dawn of the following day must have sufficed to afford reason for retreat.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 44.)

† In the text I have followed the example of Elphinstone in adopting the statement of Ferishta; but Mr. Bird asserts, on the authority of older Persian writers, that there was no such person as Sewuk Pal, and that the mistake arose from placing the expedition to Moultan before, instead of after, the war with Elik Khan.—(*History of Gujarat*, p. 23.)

popular standard, encompassed the Mohammedans, who were compelled to intrench their camp. Mahmood perceiving the increasing danger, strove to profit by the strength of his defences, and sent out a body of 6,000 archers to provoke an attack. The success of this stratagem had well nigh proved fatal to the schemer, for the hardy Gukkurs having repulsed the archers, pursued them so closely, that in spite of the sultan's personal efforts, a numerous body of these mountaineers, bare-headed and bare-footed, variously and strangely armed, passed the entrenchments on both flanks, and throwing themselves among the cavalry with irresistible fury, proceeded to cut down and maim both horse and rider, until in a very short space of time between 3,000 and 4,000 Mohammedans were slain. The assailants however, after the first onset, were checked and cut off as they advanced, till, on a sudden the elephant on which the Hindoo leader rode becoming unruly * turned and fled, and his followers thinking themselves deserted, gave way, and were easily routed. Mahmood immediately despatched 10,000 men in pursuit of the retreating army, of whom nearly twice as many were slain before they could reach a place of safety. Then, without allowing the scattered hosts time to reassemble, he followed them into the Punjaub, and on their effectual dispersion, found himself at liberty to give free scope to his plundering propensities in the rifling of the fort of Bheem (now Nagarcot), a fortified temple on a steep mountain connected with the lower range of the Himalaya. This edifice was considered to derive peculiar sanctity from a burning fountain or natural flame, which issued from the ground within its precincts, and was enriched by princely offerings, besides being the depository of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, such an amount of treasure was never collected by any prince on earth. It would seem incredible that a place of the first importance should be left unguarded, but its garrison having been drawn off during the late effort to free Hindoostan from her persecutor, the rapidity of his movements had cut off any chance of reinforcement; and when, after having laid waste the surrounding country with fire and sword, he approached the walls, no opposition was attempted by the defenceless priests, who gladly capitulated on the condition of their lives being spared. Entering the temple with the chief officers of his court and household, Mahmood gazed in delighted amazement at the vast stores garnered up therein. Gold and silver, wrought and unwrought, in dihnars, plate and ingots; pearls, corals, diamonds, rubies and various other jewels,† accumulated since the time of Rajah Bheema, in the heroic ages, became the prize of the royal marauder, who returned with his booty to Ghuznee, and in a triumphal festival held during three days on a spacious plain, displayed on golden thrones and tables manufactured from his Indian spoils, the richest and rarest of his acquisitions. Sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms liberally distributed among the poor, and magnificent presents bestowed on persons of distinction; all this display being at once very gratifying to the sultan's love of magnificence, and well calculated to contribute to his popularity, and the maintenance of internal tranquillity during his frequent absence.

In A.D. 1010, Mahmood proceeded against the strong country of Ghor, in the mountains east of Herat. The inhabitants were Afghaus, and had been converted and subdued by the caliphs in the commencement of the second century of the Hejira. Their chief, Mohammed Soor, strongly posted, and at the head of 10,000 men, repelled the attacks of his assailant from early morning till noon, but was eventually tempted from his secure position, by the pretended disorderly retreat of the Ghuznevides, in pursuit of whom the Ghorians sallied forth, but were speedily made aware of the trap into which they had fallen, by the sudden halt

* In various copies of *Ferishta*, the cause of the elephant's alarm is ascribed to guns and muskets. As no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time assigned to its European invention, A.D. 1317, Briggs, by a slight change of the diacritical points in the manuscripts, renders it—"naptha balls and arrows." Elphinstone deems the expression an anachronism of the author; but as there is every reason to believe that this explosive material was then used in China, it seems just possible that it might have been obtained from thence.

† There are said to have been 700,000 golden dihnars, 700 mauns of gold and silver plate, 200 mauns of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 mauns of unwrought silver, and 20 mauns of jewels. There are several kinds of maun; the smallest, that of Arabia, is two pounds; the most common, that of Tabriz, eleven pounds; and that of India, eighty pounds. Taking the smallest weight, we have 1,400 lb. of gold and silver plate, 400 lb. of golden ingots, 4,000 lb. of silver bullion, and 40 lb. weight of jewels.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 48.)

and fierce onset of the foe, by whom they were competely defeated. Their chief being taken prisoner, swallowed some poison, which he always kept about him in a ring, and died in a few hours. His country was annexed to the dominions of Ghuznee, but it is worthy of note that by his descendants the conquering dynasty was at length utterly overthrown.

Two years afterwards, the mountainous country of Jurjistan,* adjoining Ghor, was reduced, and another attack made upon Moultan, which had revolted. In the words of Ferishta, who, as a Mussulman historian, chooses very gentle phrases in which to express the sanguinary deeds of fellow-believers, "a number of the infidel inhabitants were cut off," and Abul Futteh Lodi brought to Ghuznee as a captive, and doomed to languish in the gloomy fort of Ghooruk for life. In the following year, 1011, Mahmood undertook an expedition of unusual length to Tanesur (thirty miles west of Delhi). He was met by the urgent entreaties of the Hindoos that he would spare the temple, which they held in great veneration, and accept a ransom, but he replied, "the Koran declared that the extent to which the followers of the prophet exerted themselves for the subversion of idolatry would be the measure of their reward in heaven,—it therefore behoved him, by Divine assistance, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India." Proceeding forthwith to Tanesur, before its defenders had time to assemble, he plundered the temple, destroyed the idols, sacked the town, and carried away 200,000 captives and much treasure, so that throughout the camp "no soldier was without wealth or many slaves."†

Two predatory incursions into Cashmere were next attempted, the second of which proved disastrous from the difficulties of a march commenced when the season was too far advanced.‡ A brief interval of repose for India followed, during which Mahmood took advantage of the disturbed state of the affairs of Elik Khan's successor in Tartary to acquire possession of Transoxiana, and extend his dominion to the Caspian Sea. From this period his Indian exploits were on a grander scale, and he seems to have united a much stronger desire for the permanent possession of conquered territories, to his zeal for the destruction of idols, and the appropriation of their spoils. Assembling an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, drawn more especially from his newly-acquired dominions, he made judicious arrangements for the home government during his absence, placed his two sons in important governments aided by trusty counsellors, and then commenced carrying out the plans which, after much careful investigation, he had devised for the prosecution of a three months' march to the Ganges, across seven great rivers, in an unexplored country. Leaving Peshawer in the spring of 1017, he passed near the confines of Cashmere, and being joined by the prince whom he had established there, proceeded on his way, keeping close to the mountains until he had crossed the Jumna. Then turning south, and driving all opposition before them, the Mussulmans presented themselves unexpectedly before the walls of Canouj; a city, says Ferishta, "which raised its head to the skies, and, in strength and beauty, might boast of being unrivalled." The rajah, taken by surprise, made no attempt at defence, but came out with his family and surrendered himself to Mahmood, who, on this occasion, (either from a motive of policy, or possibly actuated by one of the kindly impulses in which his nature, though warped by bigotry and avarice, was by no means deficient,) showed unusual clemency, and after three days' tarry, left the stately city uninjured.

Other places and their rulers were less fortunate—many were bravely defended. At Mahawan, near Muttra, terms had been entered into, when an accidental quarrel among the troops led to the massacre of the Hindoos, whose leader, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and family, and then committed suicide. Muttra§ itself, the famous seat of the Hindoo religion, was completely devastated by the excesses of the troops during a twenty days' halt, the horrors of a conflagration being added to the ordinary sufferings of the people of a sacked city. Idols of gold and silver, with eyes of rubies, and adorned with sapphires and precious stones, were demolished, melted down, and packed on camels; destined perhaps to

* Mistaken by D'Herbelot and others for Georgia.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 10, 11.

§ Mahmood writing to Ghuznee declared that Muttra contained a thousand edifices "as firm as the faith of the faithful," mostly of marble, besides innumerable temples, and considered that many millions of dihnars must have been expended on the city, the fellow to which could not be constructed under two centuries.—(*Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

excite scarcely less censurable feelings in the breasts of their new possessors, than formerly as the unhallowed mediums, or too often the actual objects, of Hindoo worship. The temples were however left standing, either on account of the excessive, and, in one sense at least, unprofitable labour necessary to their destruction, or else for the sake of their extraordinary beauty. The fort of Munj was taken after a siege of twenty-five days, its Rajpoot defenders at length ending the long struggle by rushing through the breaches on the enemy, springing from the works, or meeting death in the flames of their own houses, with their wives and children; so that not one remained to be enslaved.

Various other towns were reduced and much country laid waste, before the victorious army leaving the beautiful plains of ill-fated, because idolatrous, Hindoostan steeped in blood and tears, returned to their homes in triumph, carrying with them many prisoners.* New tastes had been acquired together with the means for their gratification, and incited by the recollection of the stately structures they had ruthlessly despoiled, the rough soldiers so lately accustomed to make the saddle their seat by day, their pillow by night, now, following the example of their king, employed the wealth, labour, and talents of their wretched captives, in rearing palaces for their private abodes as well as public buildings for the adornment of the capital, which soon became ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and reservoirs beyond any city then existing. Mahmood himself erected a magnificent mosque of marble and granite, called "the Celestial Bride," which was in that age the wonder of the East; and founded a university, supplied with an extensive and valuable library, and a museum of natural curiosities. To the maintenance of this establishment he appropriated a large sum of money, and formed a permanent fund for the support of the students and the salaries of qualified instructors. He also set aside a sum nearly equal to £10,000 a-year, for pensions to learned men—and through this munificence his court became as celebrated through Asia for its brilliant literary circle, as was afterwards that of the Medici in Europe. The liberality thus evinced contrasted strongly with his usual parsimony, and it was well directed, for it did much to secure for him the present and posthumous fame which he ardently desired. Large rewards were offered for the production of an historical poem which should embody the achievements of ancient Persian† heroes; and the author who commenced the work (Dakiki) having been assassinated when he had finished about a thousand couplets, the continuation was entrusted to the celebrated Ferdousi, who performed his task with such ability that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen.‡ The sultan was delighted with the poem; but when, after thirty years' labour, it was at length concluded, his characteristic failing prevailed over justice, and the proffered reward was so disproportioned to the expectations held out, that the disappointed Ferdousi indignantly rejected it, and withdrew to his native city of Tus, whence he launched a bitter satire at Mahmood, who on mature reflection evinced no ordinary amount of magnanimity by passing over the satire (which is still extant), and remitting for the epic, what even its author must have considered, a princely remuneration. But it came too late; the treasure entered one door of Ferdousi's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter proudly rejected the untimely gift, but was eventually prevailed upon by Mahmood to accept it, as a means of procuring an abundant supply of water for the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

In 1022, the sultan was roused from the unusual quiet in which he had remained for five years, by advices from India that a confederacy had been formed against the rajah of Canouj by the neighbouring princes to avenge his alliance with the enemy of his country. Mahmood immediately marched to his relief, but on arriving found that the unfortunate prince had been defeated and slain by the rajah of Calinjar, against whom the Mohammedan arms were directed, but without any remarkable result.§ This campaign is however memorable as marking the establishment of the first permanent garri-

* Ferishta's confused account of their route is discussed in Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 31.

† The ruling dynasty was Turkish, but Mahmood was the illegitimate son of a Persian mother, and in language and manners identified with that nation.

‡ The *Shah Namah* or *Book of Kings*.

§ In the kingdom of Ghuznee at this time, many soldiers and magistrates were Arabs by descent, but a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

son on the east of the Indus; for the new rajah of Lahore (Anung Pal's successor) having ventured to oppose the invader, was driven from his country, which was despoiled and annexed to Ghuznee. In 1024, Mahmood performed, if not the greatest, at least the most famous of his Indian exploits. At the head of an immense army, swollen by a crowd of volunteers from beyond the Oxus, and attended by 20,000 camels bearing supplies, he set off, nerved to encounter a long march, partly through hostile territories and partly through a desert 350 miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay, almost entirely without water or forage. Having overcome these obstacles he suddenly appeared before Ajmeer to the consternation of the rajah and inhabitants, who fled, leaving the Mussulmans to ravage the country and pursue their desolating course, to Anhalwara, the capital of Guzerat, whose rajah, also taken by surprise, was constrained to abandon it precipitately, and leave the way clear for the invaders to the great object of their hopes, the famous temple of Somnauth, the richest and most frequented place of worship in the country.* It stood at the southern extremity of Guzerat, on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were guarded at every point by armed men; who, on witnessing the approach of the Moslems, loudly asserted, in the name of their object of worship, that this great force had been drawn together only to be utterly destroyed as a retribution for the desecrated shrines of India.

Nothing deterred, Mahmood brought forward his archers, who commenced mounting the walls with their accustomed war-cry, "Alla hû Akbur!" (God is supreme!), but the Rajpoots having prostrated themselves before the idol, hurried to the defence and drove back the enemy with heavy loss. The next day brought a more signal repulse, and on the third the neighbouring princes presented themselves in order of battle. In the furious conflict which ensued victory was doubtful, when the arrival of the rajah of Anhalwara with a strong reinforcement brought the invaders to the verge of defeat. Mahmood, leaping from his horse, prostrated himself, invoking Divine aid; then, remounting and taking a Circassian general by the hand, he advanced against the foe, loudly cheering the troops who had so often fought and conquered with him, and who now, excited to renewed exertion, rushed forward with unlooked-for impetuosity, broke through the opposing line, and in a single charge laid 5,000 Hindoos dead or dying at their feet. The rout became general; the garrison of Somnauth beheld it with dismay, and renouncing all hopes of further defence broke up, and, to the number of 4,000, made their way to their boats, some of which were intercepted and sunk by the enemy.

Mahmood then entered the temple, accompanied by his sons and chief nobles, and gazed with astonishment on the stately edifice. The spacious roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and set with precious stones, and illuminated (the light of heaven being excluded) by a lamp suspended by a golden chain, whose flame, reflected from the numerous gems, shed bright gleams around. The idol itself stood in the centre, and was of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. According to Ferishta, it is a well authenticated fact that Mahmood was entreated by a crowd of Brahmins to accept a costly ransom and spare the object of their veneration, but after some hesitation, he exclaimed that were he to consent, his name would go down to posterity as an idol-seller instead of destroyer, he therefore struck the face of the image with his mace, and his example being followed by his companions, the figure, which was hollow, burst open and exposed to view a store of diamonds and other jewels, far surpassing in value the sum offered for its preservation.† Altogether, the treasure taken is said to have exceeded that acquired on any former occasion. Mahmood next captured Gundaba, a fort supposed to be protected by the sea, by entering the water at the head of his troops during a low tide. He appears to have passed

* For its maintenance, the revenues of 2,000 villages had been granted by different princes; 2,000 priests, 500 dancing-women, and 300 musicians officiated in its ceremonies, at which 200,000 to 300,000 votaries used to attend during the eclipses. The chain supporting a bell which the worshippers struck during prayer weighed 200 mauns of gold, and the idol itself was daily washed with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles.

† Besides this idol, we are told there were some thousands of smaller ones, wrought in gold and silver, and of various shapes and dimensions; but no description is given of the especial object of worship, a simple cylinder of stone, the well-known emblem of Saiva or Siva, from whose designation Sama Nâtha, *Lord of the Moon*, the temple derives its name. The famous sandal-wood gates carried by Mahmood to Ghuznee will be subsequently alluded to.

the rainy season at Anhalwara, with whose mild climate, beauty, and fertility he was so much delighted, as to entertain thoughts of transferring the seat of government thither, at least for some years, and making it a point of departure for further conquests. Among his projects, was that of the formation of a fleet for maritime invasions; the pearls of Ceylon and the gold mines of the Malayan peninsula offering cogent reasons for the subjugation of these countries.

These schemes his counsellors earnestly and successfully opposed, and as the rajah of Anhalwara still kept aloof and refused submission, Mahmood selected a new ruler, a man of royal descent, who, though living the life of an anchorite, was not proof against the attractions of a throne, though clogged with the humiliating conditions of subjection and tribute to a foreign foe.* The homeward route of the Mussulmans was fraught with toil and suffering—the way by which they had come was occupied by a strong force under the rajah of Ajmeer and the rightful, though fugitive prince of Anhalwara. Mahmood, with an army already wasted by the casualities of war and climate, did not care to risk a conflict, the effect of which, even though successful, would still further thin the ranks and diminish the energy of those who had afterwards a long and weary march to encounter, besides risking the rich booty with which they were encumbered. He therefore avoided further hostilities, by returning a different road, through the sands to the east of Sinde. The hot season was advanced when the troops started, and their sufferings for want of water and forage increased, until they reached a climax in three days of intense agony, during which they wandered through the worst part of the desert, wilfully misled, it is said, by their guides, who after severe torture, were brought to confess themselves disguised priests of Somnauth. Many of the soldiers perished miserably, some died raving mad, and when at length they came upon a pool of water, it was received with inexpressible transport as a miraculous interposition of Providence in their favour.

Eventually they reached Moultan, and from thence proceeded to Ghuznee,† but before the expiration of the year, their restless leader was once more in arms to avenge the molestation offered by a body of Juts,‡ in the Jund mountains, to his forces during their march to Somnauth. Foreseeing the expedient to which the Juts would have recourse, he was provided with an extensive flotilla; and when they took refuge in the islands of the Indus, hoping to elude pursuit by repeatedly shifting their position, he pursued them so pertinaciously that though not without a desperate defence, the men were mostly destroyed and the women and children enslaved.

Thus terminated Mahmood's thirteenth and last expedition to India. Hostilities were then directed against the Turki tribe of Seljuk,§ whose growing power he had incautiously favoured, until they became too unruly to be restrained by his local representatives; nor were they without difficulty compelled to respect his immediate authority. The next act was the seizure of Persian Irak (extending from the frontier of Khorassan, westward to the mountains of Koordistan, beyond Hamadan). This he

* The conclusion of the new rajah's history affords a remarkable instance of retributive justice, even allowing for oriental embellishment. Fearing the rivalry of a relation, he prayed Mahmood to deliver him into his custody, promising to spare his life, and kept his pledge by causing a cell to be dug under his own throne, in which his victim was to linger out the remainder of his existence. A sudden revolution occurred, which is said to have been occasioned by a vulture having flown upon the rajah while lying asleep under a tree with his face covered with a red handkerchief, and totally blinded him by fixing its talons into his eyes; thus rendering him, by the laws of his country, incapable of reigning. The position of the parties was immediately reversed, the cruel schemer being forthwith removed to the dungeon which he had himself prepared; thus, says Ferishta, fulfilling the Scripture, in which it is written—"He who digs a pit for his brother, shall himself fall therein."—(Briggs, vol. i., p. 80.)

† It is surprising that the passage along the Indus should not have been chosen by Mahmood, who must have been acquainted with it, both from the account of Mohammed Casim's proceedings and from the neighbourhood of the Afghans. Elphinstone, in commenting upon this circumstance, suggests the existence of physical obstacles now removed, adding, that the *Runn of Cutch*, now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was, doubtless, formerly a part of the sea; and remarks, that the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the fall of Somnauth. (Vol. i., p. 558.)

‡ Probably a Tartar horde of the Getæ stock, widely disseminated over India, and, according to Tod, called by their ancient name of *Jits* in the Punjaub, *Jats* on the Jumna and Ganges, and *Juts* on the Indus and in Saurashtra.

§ The tribe is supposed to have originated in a chief who held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes, but having incurred the displeasure of his sovereign was driven into exile, and his sons and adherents became subject to Mahmood in Transoxiana, frequently however, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account.

accomplished by taking advantage of the disturbances which occurred in the reign of one of the representatives of a branch of the family of Buya, called also the Deilemites; the person of the prince being treacherously seized in the Moslem camp. The resistance of the people of Ispahan and Cazvin was cruelly revenged by the massacre of several thousands in each city.

The ordinary excuse of zeal for the glory of Islam—that is to say, the bigotry which has sometimes really prompted cruel aggressions, but has far more frequently been assumed as a mask to cover ambition or rapacity, cannot in this case be urged in palliation of these grasping and sanguinary transactions, probably the worst, as they were the last, of the life of Mahmood. Returning triumphant to Ghuznee, he was attacked by a disease which soon completely prostrated his extraordinary physical and mental energies, and of which he died, after a reign of thirty-three years. During paroxysms of excruciating agony, he might well have envied even the wretched slaves whom his marauding incursions had made so cheap that purchasers could not be found for them at ten dirhems (about 4*s.* 7*d.*) a head. At such moments his hundred measures of jewels * could afford but poor consolation; even the delusive doctrine of the Koran condemned alike the means by which they had been acquired, and the master-passion whose strength was never manifested more forcibly than in the closing scenes of his eventful career. When taking a sorrowful leave of his great possessions, the dying Sultan perhaps thought bitterly of a sentiment some of the numerous poets of his court might have rhymed, though scarcely so sweetly as our own Southey:

> "In heaven ambition cannot dwell,
> Nor avarice in the vaults of hell —"

He had ample reason to regret leaving a world in which he had—with reverence for the sacred text be it spoken, "laid up much treasure for many years;" nor is it probable that he could look for reward or even pardon in another, on the ground of faithful service to the cause of Islam.

Notwithstanding his character for bigotry, and frequent and public invocations of Divine assistance, a careful review of Mahmood's actions renders it more than doubtful whether all these were not hollow pretences to raise the enthusiasm of his more truthful followers who, it must be borne in mind, had been accustomed from the earliest times to prayer before battle, and thanksgivings in the hour of victory. If he were really a sceptic† regarding the creed which he made the pretext for destroying or enslaving unoffending multitudes, his condition was wretched indeed; but if he did actually believe it an imperative duty to increase the numbers of "the faithful," at all costs, then at least his conduct, with the exception of some few memorable instances, was very unaccountable; for, besides his apathy in not endeavouring to establish Moslem colonies in India, schools, or other means of instruction, it appears that he never hesitated to exercise perfect toleration whenever it suited his views. The rajah of Canouj, for instance (his only ally), was an unconverted Hindoo; he appointed a strict devotee to the throne of Guzerat; employed a large body of native cavalry, without regard to their religion, and contrary to orthodox Mohammedanism — circumstances which would testify liberality of feeling, but for their manifest inconsistency with other parts of his conduct, for which excessive zeal is urged in apology.

The house of Ghuznee reached its culminating point in the person of Mahmood's turbulent son, Masaud, who, having deposed and blinded his brother Mohammed, after five months' rule, mounted the throne, and completed the remaining conquest of Persia, except the province of Fars. He made three expeditions into India, during which he captured Sersooty on the Sutlej, quelled a rebellion at Lahore, and stationed a garrison in Sonpat, near Delhi. In the meanwhile the Seljuks completely defeated his general, and compelled Masaud, on his return, to march against them in person. After two years of indecisive operations a battle took place near Meru, in which the Ghuznevides were totally routed. The sultan returned to Ghuznee, but finding it hopeless to restore order there, determined to withdraw to India. All respect for his authority was however destroyed, and soon after crossing the Indus, the remnant of his forces mutinied against him, and placed the injured Mohammed on the throne, A.D. 1040. This prince being rendered incapable by blindness of conducting the government, transferred the administration to his

* Hearing of the wealth of the Samani princes, who had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, he exclaimed exultingly, that he possessed sufficient to fill an hundred.

† On this point, see Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 569.

son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put his uncle the deposed king to death. But the sins of this family, committed on the plea of just retaliation, did not end here. Modood, the son of Masaud, on hearing of his father's murder, quitted Balkh, where he had been engaged in watching the proceedings of the Seljuks, and with a small body of troops made his way from Ghuznee to Lahore. At Futtehabad, in the valley of Laghman, he was met by Mohammed with Ahmed and other relatives, who after a fierce contest were defeated, taken prisoners, and all put to death by the conqueror, with the exception of Prince Abdool, a son of Mohammed's, who was spared for the sake of kindness shown to Masaud during his captivity. Modood had not yet removed all domestic foes—the opposition of his own brother, Madood, was still to be overcome, and it threatened to be troublesome, this prince having obtained possession of Lahore and its dependencies. The armies of the rival brothers were marshalled for action when the dispute for superiority was suddenly terminated by the death of Madood and his vizier (prime minister) apparently by poison. The forces then coalesced under Modood, who contrived not only to occupy Ghuznee, but to recover Transoxiana, which he was perhaps enabled to do the more readily from having espoused the daughter of a Seljuk chief. But while thus successful in the west, the rajah of Delhi recovered the territory seized by Masaud beyond the Sutlej; and elated by this first success, pushed his forces to the very gates of Nagarcot. Volunteers crowded into the Punjaub, and entered with such ardour into the enterprise that the temple-fortress, despite its strong position and garrison, became again their own. The Moslems driven thence took refuge in Lahore, and after a seven months' siege, during which no succour arrived from Ghuznee, were well nigh reduced to despair, when swearing to stand by each other to the last they rushed out upon the enemy, and by one determined effort induced the Hindoos to disperse, and raise the siege. Modood died A.D. 1049, one of his last acts of treachery being to render Ghor tributary and in some sort dependent on himself, by perfidiously murdering the prince whom he had promised to assist in recovering possession of the throne. The speedy decline of the house of Ghuznee from this period would be of little interest but for its important bearing on the fortunes of Hindoostan, nor does it seem necessary to follow in detail the tedious and distasteful accounts of conspiracies and assassinations which too generally form the staple of oriental historians, the progress and condition of the people being rarely even alluded to. Suffice it to say, that the second successor of Modood succeeded in recovering Nagarcot from the Hindoos, but being compelled to oppose the sedition of a chief named Toghral in Seestan, marched to attack the rebels, leaving the bulk of his army in India. His force proved unequal to the task, and he was compelled to shut himself up in Ghuznee, where he was seized and put to death with nine princes of the blood-royal. Toghral seized upon the vacant throne, but was assassinated within forty days; and the army, having by this time returned from India, resolved upon continuing the crown in the family of the founder of the kingdom. Three princes of his lineage were discovered imprisoned in a distant fort, and their claims being nearly equal were decided by lot. The chance fell on Farokhzad, whose brother and successor Ibrahim, celebrated for sanctity, captured several cities on the Sutlej. In the following reign (that of Masaud II.) the royal residence began to be transferred to Lahore (about A.D. 1100.)

Behram, a prince of great literary renown, acceded to the throne in 1118, but after thirty years of peace and prosperity, committed an act of cruel injustice, which led to his own ruin and the extinction of his dynasty. Having had a difference with his son-in-law, the prince of Ghor, he caused him to be put to death; and after a long contest with the brother of his victim, succeeded in defeating and slaying him also, under circumstances of aggravated barbarity. Alaoo-deen Soor, indignant at the fate of his murdered brothers, entered the territories of their destroyer at the head of a small but determined force, compelled him to fly for his life, and seizing on Ghuznee, devoted the magnificent city, and its miserable inhabitants, for three (or some say nine days) to the desolating effects of flame, slaughter, and pillage. The superb monuments of its kings were utterly demolished, except those of Mahmood, Masaud, and Ibrahim. Behram strove to take refuge in India, but died on his way, worn out by fatigue and disappointment. His son Khosru continued the retreat to Lahore, and there established himself, A.D. 1152. The next king, Khosru Malik, the last of the race of Subuktugeen

reigned in tranquillity for twenty-seven years, and was then defeated and taken prisoner, with his family, and eventually slain by the Ghor princes, from whom his house thus received the final blow, in return for a long series of injuries and aggressions.

House of Ghor. — Shahab-oo-deen, the conqueror of Malik, on taking possession of Lahore, was supported by an army drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and accustomed to contend with the Seljuks and the northern hordes of Tartary. Being at liberty to direct his exclusive attention to India, he probably expected to subjugate extensive territories with ease and rapidity, owing to the peaceful character of the people, the more so as their chief rulers were at variance with one another. Of the existing kingdoms the greatest were those of Delhi, held by the clan of Tomara; Ajmeer, by that of Chouhan; Canouj by the Rahtores, and Guzerat by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalukas. The Tomara chief dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Prithwi rajah of Ajmeer, who thus acceded to the double authority, greatly to the mortification of the rajah of Canouj, another grandson of the deceased ruler's.

These internal differences did not however prevent very determined resistance being offered to a foreign foe, though it probably marred the effect which might have resulted from a more united plan of defence. None of the Hindoo principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued, owing chiefly to the essentially warlike habits, and peculiar social position of the Rajpoots, whose almost feudal system of government, led them to contest the ground, not so much in a single great action, as inch by inch, each man fighting for his own chief, and his own hearth and home. The origin of this still powerful and interesting class has been alluded to (see p. 42), and will be more particularly mentioned in commenting on the characteristics of the Hindoo population. Here it may be observed, that had their practical ability and energy in time of peace kept pace with their chivalrous enthusiasm and unswerving resolution under the stimulus of war, India might have spurned the hateful yoke of the Moslems. But the constant use of pernicious drugs, seconding only too effectually the enervating tendencies of an eastern clime, brought indolence and sensuality in their train, and while rendering their victims daily more infatuated with the varied forms of idolatry, which rapidly multiplied, to the extinction of more spiritual aspirations—induced also inertion and listlessness with regard to material dangers, until the hour for preparation was passed, and no alternatives remained save death, slavery, or apostacy. Then indeed they kept the foe at bay with the courage of the lion, and braved their fate with more than Spartan fortitude. Thus Shahab-oo-deen and his successors found their task long and tedious, and repeatedly contested the possession of the same ground. The first attack was directed against Prithwi rajah, and took place at Tirouri, between Tanesur and Kurnaul, on the great plain where most of the conflicts for paramount power in India, have been decided. The Hindoos succeeded in outflanking and completely routing the Mussulmans, who charged after their usual method with successive bodies of cavalry. Shahab himself was dangerously wounded, and after a pursuit of forty miles escaped with difficulty to Lahore, where, having collected the wreck of his army, he crossed the Indus, and after visiting his brother at Ghor, settled at Ghuznee.

Two years later (1193) having recruited a fresh force he again encountered Prithwi rajah, whom he overcame by the dangerous stratagem, so frequently recorded in Mohammedan annals, of a pretended flight. The immense Hindoo army followed in headlong pursuit, when a body of Afghan horse 12,000 strong, suddenly wheeled round and charged upon them with terrible effect; the viceroy of Delhi and many chiefs were slain on the field, and the brave rajah himself being captured, was put to death in cold blood by his merciless opponent, who soon afterwards, having taken Ajmeer, massacred some thousands of its inhabitants, reserving the rest for slavery. In 1194, Jaya Chandra, the rajah of Canouj, was defeated and slain on the Jumna;* Canouj and Benares were taken by Shahab, whose power was thus extended into Behar. In the following year Gwalior, in Bundelcund, and several other strong positions there, as also in Rohilcund, were successively seized, and the invader pursued his conquering career until the death of his brother placed him on the throne of Ghor, A.D. 1202. His four years'

* The body was recognised by the false teeth, or according to other writers, by the golden studs required to fix the natural ones into their sockets, on account of extreme age.

reign was full of vicissitudes. A report of his death during a war with the king of Kharizm,* occasioned the defection of several of his western tributaries, and the wild tribe of the Gukkurs issued from their mountains in the north of the Punjaub, took Lahore, and devastated the whole province. Kootb-oo-deen, originally a Turki slave, but raised by Shahab to the government of his Indian possessions, remained faithful to his patron, aided him in recovering the Punjaub, and induced the Gukkurs to embrace Islamism. Shahab was, however, slain in his camp on the Indus by a band of these mountaineers, who, stimulated by the desire of revenge, having lost relations in the late war, swam across the river at midnight, and entered the royal camp unopposed.† He left no son; and, although his nephew Mahmood was proclaimed throughout the whole of his uncle's dominions, yet these broke up without a struggle into separate states. The deceased monarch had carefully trained several Turki slaves, of whom three were in possession of extensive governments at the time of his death. The most noted, Kootb-oo-deen, was invested by Mahmood with the insignia of royalty, A.D. 1206, and thus commenced the line, named from the seat of government, the *Slave-kings of Delhi*. The whole of Hindoostan Proper (of course excluding the Deccan), except Malwa and some contiguous districts, had now been subjugated in a greater or less degree; Sinde and Bengal were in rapid course of reduction, but in Guzerat little dominion had been acquired beyond that connected with the possession of the capital, which was for a short time retained. Thus an Indian empire was established, of which the Indus formed the western boundary, though before this epoch there seems reason to believe that "India," in the common acceptation of the term, had a far wider extent.

Altamsh acceded in 1211; he was of a noble family, but had been sold as a slave by his envious brothers. During his reign the whole face of Asia was changed by a terrible scourge. Jengis Khan, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary and swelled his bands with their united hordes, swept like a desolating torrent over the Mohammedan kingdoms. Altamsh, by politic conduct, succeeded in shielding most of his territories from the fury of Jengis and his myriads; but Sinde and Moultan, under the dominion of a refractory Moslem governor, did not escape so easily. In the former place, 10,000 prisoners were massacred on account of a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp.

Altamsh employed the last six years of his life in completing the conquest of Hindoostan Proper, that is, in bringing the principalities into partial dependence, in which state they continued during the whole period of Tartar and subsequently of Mogul supremacy, the degree of subjection varying greatly with the character of the reigning prince, and being occasionally interrupted by isolated attempts at freedom on the part of native rulers. The caliph of Bagdad formally recognized the new kingdom, in which, during the general subversion of Mohammedan governments, no less than fifteen sovereign princes (of Ghor, Kharizm, Bagdad, &c.,) took refuge at one time, during the reign of Bulbun or Balin (1266 to 1286). The only monarch of this line claiming especial notice is the Sultana Rezia, who, Ferishta writes, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." So great was the confidence of her father Altamsh in her practical ability, that during his campaigns he left Rezia in charge of the home authority in preference to his sons. Her administration when raised to the throne (after the deposition of her brother, a weak and incompetent prince) is represented as unexceptionable; but the faction by whom her accession had been opposed raised a rebellion, on the pretext of the undue partiality evinced to an Abyssinian slave who had been elevated to the rank of Ameer-ul-omra. The sultana marched for its suppression, but the army mutinied and delivered up their sovereign to the hostile leader, a Turki chief, who, becoming enamoured of his captive, married her and proceeded to assert her rights against his former confederates.

* Kharizm, the Chorasmia of the ancients, a city which gives its name to the province, became independent under Atziz, the revolting governor of a Seljuk Sultan, by the aid of the Khitans, a Tartar tribe. The Kharizm kings conquered Ghor, and were overthrown by Jengis Khan.

† By another account, the death of Shahab is attributed to one of the Fedeyan or zealots of Almowut (*Eagle's nest*), a famous fortress in the Kohistan, tenanted by a cruel and powerful set of fanatics, who for more than a century and-a-half were the dread of orthodox Mohammedans; the caliph on his throne and the dervise in his cell, alike falling victims to the knives of these midnight assassins, who were at length extirpated by Hulaku Khan. Their chief was termed the Sheikh-ul-Jubbul, or *Old Man of the Mountain*.

After two severe conflicts, both Rezia and her husband were taken and put to death in cold blood, A.D. 1239. The short reigns of the two succeeding kings both ended in deposition and murder: that of the latter is memorable for a Mogul incursion through Tibet into Bengal, the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; on the north-western frontier they were frequent and destructive. The assassination of Kei Kobad (a cruel and dissolute monarch) in 1288, paved the way for a new dynasty.

House of Khilji.—Jelal-oo-deen was placed on the throne by his tribe, the (Khilji*) when seventy years of age, in spite of his own reluctance. At the end of his reign the Deccan was invaded by his nephew, Ala-oo-deen, who, diverting the attention of the Hindoo princes by a pretence of having quarrelled with his uncle and being about to join the Hindoo ruler of Rajamundri, succeeded in marching at the head of a chosen body of 8,000 horse to Deogiri (Doulatabad), a distance of 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindya range. Deogiri, the capital of Ramdeo, rajah of Maharashta, once reached was taken without difficulty, as Ramdeo, utterly unprepared for an assault, had no means of defending it, but retired to a hill-fort with a body of 3,000 or 4,000 citizens and domestics. The town was pillaged and the merchants tortured to make them surrender their treasures. The fortress might have held out successfully, but that in the hurry of victualling the garrison sacks of salt had been taken in mistake for grain. The rajah was consequently obliged to make the best terms he could, which involved the payment of gold and jewels to an immense amount, and the cession of Elikpoor and its dependencies. Ala-oo-deen returned in triumph through Candeish into Malwa, but his ambition, stimulated by the success of his late unjust proceedings, prompted the seizure of the throne of India. For this end, he scrupled not at the commission of a crime, heinous in itself to the highest degree, and aggravated, if possible, by the circumstances under which it was perpetrated.

The counsellors of the aged monarch had emphatically warned him of the crafty and unscrupulous character of his nephew, but could not shake his faith in one whom he had reared from infancy. He therefore crossed the Ganges with very few attendants to meet and welcome the conqueror, whom he was fondly embracing at the moment when the heartless ingrate, by a preconcerted signal, summoned the assassins posted for the purpose, who, coming forward, stabbed the king to the heart, and fastening his head upon a spear, carried it through the city. The two sons of the rajah he inveigled into his power, and caused to be put to death. He then strove, by lavish gifts and profusion in shows and festivals, to reconcile the people to his usurpation. Public granaries were constructed, prices fixed for all commodities, importation encouraged by loans to merchants, and exportation prohibited; the origin of these measures being a desire to reduce the pay of the troops and the consequent necessity of diminishing the expence of living. Although, during his prolonged administration, Ala-oo-deen showed himself ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and arbitrary; though his arroganee and covetousness constantly increased, yet his twenty years' reign left the country in a far better condition than it had been under the sway of his kind but weak predecessor: so true it is that in despotic governments, one vigorous tyrant, whose will is the law of all, generally occasions less suffering than the feeble though gentle sovereign, who, incapable of swaying an undivided sceptre, shares his power with a crowd of petty despots, by whose harassing exactions the strength and wealth of the nation is gradually frittered away. Several Mogul invasions from Transoxiana (the last for many years) were repelled by Ala; the most serious occurred A.D. 1299, and was attended with great suffering to the people of Delhi. A fierce contest took place between armies of extraordinary magnitude, and was gained chiefly by the valour of the Moslem general, Zafar Khan, who, having become an object of jealousy to his treacherous master, was purposely left unsupported. Perceiving his situation, the flying foe turned back and cut him and his small detachment to pieces, after a resistance worthy of his character. The Mogul chiefs taken at this and other times were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood, to the number of 9,000 in a single instance. Fearing, perhaps, the spirit of vengeance to which such ferocity might give rise, Ala suddenly discharged the whole of the Mogul converts

* A tribe of Tartar descent long settled among the Afghans, with whom their name is almost invariably found associated.

from his service, a violent and imprudent measure, for which, though habitually turbulent, they appear to have given no immediate cause. Driven to despair, some of them entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king, who, detecting the plot, caused the whole, to the number of 15,000, to be massacred, and their families sold into slavery.

Very extensive conquests were made in the Deccan by the Moslems under the leadership of Cafur, a slave and eunuch, taken in the capture of Guzerat, but promoted by Ala to high command. Maharashta and Carnata were subjugated, the princes who still retained their dominions being compelled to pay tribute, while the successor of Ramdeo (the rajah of Deogiri, previously conquered) having refused to do so, was put to death. The spirit of the Hindoos was however yet far from being completely bowed under the Mussulman yoke. Guzerat revolted; Chittore (a celebrated hill-fort in Mewar) was recovered by Rana (prince) Hamir; and Harpal or Hari Pala (son-in-law to Ramdeo) raised an extensive insurrection in the Deccan, and expelled many of the foreign garrisons.

These ill-tidings coming one upon another, produced in the mind of Ala-oo-deen transports of rage, which a constitution weakened by habitual intemperance and unceasing anxiety could ill bear. Conspiracies and insurrections, real and imaginary, embittered every hour of his life; and the well-nigh successful attempt of his nephew prince Soliman, to seize the throne by a plot similar in its perfidy to his own, inspired constant suspicions of domestic treachery. The only being in whom he trusted, Cafur, his victorious general, proved to be a hypocrite, designing and ambitious as himself; who, after alienating from his master the chief nobility, induced him, by innumerable artifices, to imprison the unoffending queen and her children, and then hastened his decease by poison.

Under the alleged authority of a forged will, (by which Ala bequeathed the throne to an infant son, and appointed Cafur regent,) the traitor assumed the reins of government, caused the eyes of the captive princes to be put out, and sent assassins to dispatch a third named Mobarik. The plot failed; Cafur was himself murdered by the royal guard; and Mobarik succeeded to the throne, A.D. 1317, after blinding his infant brother, who was immured in a hill-fort for life. Under a government where the extirpation of possible rivals was deemed a matter of *expediency* (that lying word so often used in diplomacy to make wrong seem right, or at least disguise its full wickedness), even such barbarity as this might create little aversion, but to provide against any such feeling, while yet unsettled on the throne, Mobarik set free all prisoners, to the amount of 17,000, restored the lands confiscated by his father, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished all restrictions on trade and property. He then marched to the Deccan and captured Harpal, who was inhumanly sentenced to be flayed alive. A converted Hindoo slave, styled Khosru Khan, was made vizier; by him Malabar was conquered, and this service so won upon Mobarik, that confiding the whole administration to his favourite, he commenced a course of the most odious and degrading debauchery. A continual succession of disturbances and rebellions followed, attended with all the pernicious excitement of cruel tortures and executions; but the king, like his wretched father, was doomed to receive his death-blow, not at the hands of his indignant and cruelly injured subjects, but from the serpent whom he had cherished in his bosom. Khosru occupied the palace with his creatures, filled the capital with Hindoo troops of his own caste, and then, the web being woven, murdered his infatuated victim and seized the vacant throne. After completely extirpating the house of Lodi, the usurper strove to gain over the *ameers* or nobles, and some of them consented to take office under him. Others refused, and joined Toghlak, governor of the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after the defeat and death of Khosru, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

House of Toghlak.—The new ruler (the son of a Turki slave by an Indian mother) proved a blessing to the people by whom he had been chosen. Order was restored to the internal administration, and the threatened invasion of the Moguls on the north-west checked by a line of defences formed along the Afghan frontier; Telingana was conquered, as also Dacca; Tirhoot (formerly Mithila) reduced, and the rajah taken prisoner by Toghlak, who, when returning victorious to his capital, A.D. 1325, was crushed to death, with five other persons, by the fall of a wooden pavilion, erected to receive him by his son and successor, to whom a treacherous design is attributed. Mohammed Toghlak, on whose reputation the stigma of parricide is thus affixed, was re-

markable for great talents, often wickedly, and sometimes so wildly used, as to render his sanity a doubtful question. In languages, logic, Greek philosophy, mathematics and medicine, his attainments were extraordinary; in war he was brave and active; in domestic life devout, abstinent and moral. Notwithstanding all this, he proved one of the worst kings under whose scourge India has ever bled and suffered. When released from the fear of invasion on the part of the Moguls, whose absence was obtained by an enormous bribe—he completed the reduction of the Deccan; and then gave the rein to his ambitious but ill-digested schemes, by assembling an army (comprising, according to Ferishta, 370,000 horse), intended for the conquest of Persia, but which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, carrying pillage and disorganization in every quarter. Next followed an attempt upon China. For this 100,000 men were sent through the Himalaya Mountains, and having with loss and difficulty effected a passage, were met on the enemy's frontier by a powerful force, with whom fatigue and want of provisions rendered the invaders unable to cope. The approach of the wet season compelled a speedy retreat, which the pursuit of the Chinese, the difficulties of the route, famine and heavy rains, made so disastrous, that at the end of fifteen days, scarcely a man survived to tell the tale, and many of those left behind in garrisons during the advance of the ill-fated force, were put to death by the unreasoning rage of the disappointed king. An endeavour to fill the royal treasury, by substituting paper, for copper, tokens,* utterly failed in its object, from the known insolvency of the government, and it seriously injured trade and impoverished the people; who, no longer able to endure the increasing pressure of taxation, deserted the towns and fled to the woods, in some places maintaining themselves by rapine. The infuriated despot ordered out his army, as if for a great hunt, surrounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual in an Indian chase, and then commanded the circle to close and slaughter all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants), like wild beasts. More than once was this horrible performance repeated; and on a subsequent occasion, its atrocities were paralleled by a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. Famine, induced by cruelty and misgovernment, brought to a climax the miseries of the nation, and various attempts were made to break the fetters of such unbearable oppression. Mohammed's own nephew took up arms in Malwa, but was defeated and flayed alive; the governor of the Punjaub next rebelled, and he also was subdued and slain.

Bengal, and soon afterwards the Carnatic, revolted under Moslem governors, and were never again subdued; Carnata and Telingana combined successfully under native rajahs for the recovery of their independence; and lesser struggles took place in every quarter. The Amçer† Judeeda, or new nobles (the name given to the Mogul chiefs and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced Islamism and the service of the kings of Delhi at the same time), became seditious in the Deccan; and in Malwa, seventy of them were treacherously massacred by the new governor, a man of low origin, desirous to show his zeal—upon which the officers of the same nation in Guzerat, prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in insurrection. Mohammed in person advanced for its suppression, and ravaged his own province as if it had been that of an enemy, devoting the rich towns of Cambay and Surat to plunder. With equal vigour he proceeded to quell a general rebellion in the Deccan; but no sooner was seeming quiet restored in one place by a costly effusion of blood, than new disturbances broke out in another. The king, wearied out with marching and countermarching, fell a victim to a fever, caused, it is said, by a surfeit of fish, but more probably by anxiety of mind, added to the unceasing tumult of his own ungovernable passions. He died at Tatta, whither he had proceeded in pursuit of some fugitives from Guzerat, who had taken refuge with the Rajpoot princes of Sinde. The only marvel is, that he should have been permitted to reign twenty-seven years, and yet escape the common fate of Asiatic tyrants—poison or the sword. Few could ever have provoked such an end more pertinaciously than Mohammed Toghlak, who, in spite of his

* With regard to coinage, it may be remarked that at the time of Cafur's invasion, there was, according to Ferishta, no silver coinage in the Carnatic; and colonel Briggs remarks that the same was true, to a certain extent, till very lately, the common coin being the *pagoda*; there was also another gold coin called a *fanam*, in value about equal to a sixpence.

† Ameer, Emir or Mir alike signify noble, commander, chief. Thus, Ameer-ool-omra, means head of the nobles, or commander-in-chief.

intellectual gifts and personal bravery, alternately excited emotions of horror and contempt in the breasts of his subjects, evincing alike in his extensive projects or less disastrous follies, the same utter recklessness with regard to their lives and properties. Thus—desiring to transfer the capital from the magnificent city of Delhi to Deogiri, as being a more central position, he proceeded to attempt the execution of this design, by ordering all the inhabitants of the former, to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Doulatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing. After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: these movements being all, more or less, attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands, and ruin and distress to many more. As an instance of his minor freaks, may be noticed that of having a stately mausoleum erected over a carious tooth, extracted during his campaign in the Carnatic, and this too at a time when his troops, ravaged by pestilence and decimated by civil war, found full employment in heaping a little earth over their fallen comrades. In the early part of this reign, the Mohammedan empire east of the Indus, was more extensive than at any other period; but the provinces lost during its continuance were not all regained till the time of Aurungzebe, and the royal authority received a shock which the iron grasp of the Mogul dynasty alone sufficed to counterbalance.

Feroze Toghlak succeeded to the throne, in the absence of direct heirs, chiefly by the influence of the Hindoo chiefs, and after some disturbances raised by the Mogul mercenaries. His reign stands out in pleasing contrast, not only to that of his predecessor, but to despotic rulers in general. Rejecting the pursuit of what is commonly called glory, he recognised the independence of Bengal and the Deccan, and without seeking to extend the empire by the sword, employed himself in its consolidation and improvement. The diminution of capital punishments, the abolition of torture and mutilation, the removal of numerous vexatious taxes, alterations in the collection of the revenue, the abrogation of fluctuating and precarious imposts—all spoke the earnest solicitude of the ruler for the welfare of the people. Reservoirs and canals for irrigation, mosques, colleges, caravanserais, hospitals, public baths, bridges, and many other edifices were erected, and the revenues of certain lands assigned for their maintenance. The chief of these works still remains a noble monument to the memory of its founder—viz., a canal extending from the point where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnaul to Hansi and Hissar. It reaches to the river *Gagar*, and was formerly connected with the Sutlej. A portion, extending about 200 miles, has been restored by the British government, and will be described in the topographical section.

Feroze long retained his energies; but in his eighty-seventh year, increasing infirmities compelled him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, Nasir-oo-deen, A.D. 1385. This prince was displaced in little more than a year by two of his cousins, who having secured the person of the old king, proclaimed his grandson, Gheias-oo-deen, sovereign; soon after which event, Feroze died, aged ninety. Gheias, in five months, was deposed and murdered by the kinsmen who had placed him on the throne. His successor, Abu-bekir, was displaced by the previously exiled monarch, Nasir-oo-deen, after a long and severe contest, during which Delhi repeatedly changed hands. The Hindoos took an active part in the struggle, and the household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city, none being permitted to remain if incapable of pronouncing a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindoostan. The rule of Nasir was weak and inefficient, and that of his son, Mahmood, who acceded to power in 1394, while yet a minor, embarrassed yet more the public affairs. Mozuffer Khan, the governor of Guzerat began to act as an irresponsible ruler; while Malwa and the little province of Candeish permanently threw off the yoke, and remained independent principalities until the time of Akber. The vizier of Mahmood, with peculiar disloyalty, seized on the province of Juanpoor and founded a kingdom. The remaining territories were torn with the dissensions of jarring factions, and each party was occupied with its own quarrels, when the fierce onslaught of a foreign foe involved all in a common calamity.

Ameer Timur, better known as Timur Beg (chief or commander) or as Tamerlane, has been designated "the fire-brand of the universe," "the apostle of desolation," and by various other opprobrious epithets, all of which his own autobiography, if its authenticity may

be trusted, proves to have been fully merited.* He claimed a remote descent from the same stock as Jengis Khan, whom he in many points resembled; for, though born near Samarcand, in a comparatively civilized country, and a zealous Mussulman by profession, Timur was as barbarous in his warfare, and as short-sighted (though more treacherous and wily) in his policy as the ferocious Mogul. Both were unprincipled marauders, who overran countries and slaughtered unoffending myriads, for plunder; but the latter, while everywhere carrying anarchy, famine, and pestilence in his train, and sparing neither nation nor creed, invariably asserted zeal for Islam as the main spring of his actions, and by a strange mixture of superstition and egotism, seems to have succeeded in deceiving himself at least, as to the true character and consequences of his career. The Seyeds or legitimate descendants of "his holiness the prophet" (through Ali and Fatima), were the exclusive objects of his protection, and their exemption from a personal share in the horrors of war, he considered, or pretended to consider, a certain means of absolution for a life spent in unceasing aggression on the individual and collective rights of the rest of mankind. Having united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent as Jengis had done, Timur, after conquering Persia and Transoxiana, ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia. Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool, to the frontiers of Hindoostan, were also subjugated and placed under the government of Peir Mohammed, the grandson of Timur, who endeavoured to extend his dominions to the south-east by an attack on the Afghans in the Soliman mountains; which proving successful, the invader eventually proceeded to cross the Indus and occupy the city of Oueh, whence he marched to invest Moultan. The place was bravely defended, and Peir lay for six months before its walls. Meanwhile Timur, learning the doubtful state of affairs, renounced his intention of invading the more distant provinces of the Chinese empire, and conducted his forces to India, A.D. 1398, being, he alleged, stimulated thereto by accounts of the gross idolatry still suffered to extend its influence throughout the countries swayed by Moslem rulers. Following the usual route to Cabool, he marched by Haryub and Bunnoo to Dinkot, a place on the Indus to the south of the Salt range, whose exact position is not known. After crossing the river, by a bridge of rafts and reeds, he advanced to the Hydaspes, and marched down its banks, ravaging the country as he passed, as far as Toolumba, where a heavy contribution proved insufficient to save the city from pillage, or the people from massacre.

Moultan had by this time been taken by blockade, famine having conquered where external force had utterly failed; and Peir, leaving a garrison there, joined his grandfather on the Sutlej. At the head of a detachment of 11,000 chosen horse, Timur took possession of Adjudin, where the few remaining inhabitants threw themselves upon his mercy, and being chiefly Seyeds, were spared and shielded from the excesses of the soldiery—a very rare case, for although the promise of similar forbearance was often obtained from the fierce invader, it was almost invariably violated; whether from inability or disinclination to restrain his turbulent associates matters little, since it scarcely affects the degree of guilt involved in giving, or rather selling an immunity which, from one cause or another, he well knew, would not be preserved. His desolating career in Hindoostan may be briefly told; for the terrible details of pillage and slaughter recur again and again, until the mind, sickening with an unbroken chain of similar scenes, has the sense of their atrocity almost dulled by the monotonous repetition. At Bhutneer, the country people who had taken refuge under the walls were massacred; in spite of their capitulation, the inhabitants shared the same fate, and the town was burned. Thence Timur's detachment marched to join the main force, slaying the people of every place traversed, as far as Samana, where the towns being absolutely deserted, the swords of these murderers had some rest, but only sufficient to

* Vide *Mulfuzāt Timūri* (printed at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund). Originally written in Turki, a language as distinct from the modern Turkish as Saxon from English; translated into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and thence into our tongue by Major Stewart. These memoirs afford strong internal evidence of having been actually dictated by Timur; to quote the words of an able critic, any doubt on the subject "would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he [Timur] relates his own intrigues and perfidy; taking credit for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the boldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him."—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 79.)

prepare them for renewed exertion, since, on reaching Delhi, all prisoners above fifteen years of age were put to death, from the fear of their taking part with their countrymen. The number was doubtless very great, even after making large deductions from the accounts of Mussulman writers, who state it at 100,000. Upon the defeat of the Indian army, the reigning prince of Delhi, Mahmood Toghlak, fled to Guzerat, and the city was surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection. Tamerlane was proclaimed emperor of India, and while engaged in celebrating a triumphal feast, his ferocious hordes, laughing to scorn the dearly-bought promise of their leader, commenced their usual course of rapine and plunder, upon which the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army poured into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of slain. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupified by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and "submitted themselves like sheep to slaughter; in some instances permitting one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him."

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds; the historian* above quoted, declares that the amount stated by his authorities so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from the mention—neither does he give the number of men and women, of all ranks, dragged into slavery; but it must have been immense. Among them were many masons and other artificers, competent to the construction of a mosque, similar to the noble edifice of white marble built by Feroze, on the Jumna: in which the sanguinary Timur, on the eve of departure from the blasted city, had the audacity to offer up public thanks for the wrongs he had been permitted to inflict.

Merut next fell beneath the same terrible scourge: the walls were thrown down by mines, and every soul put to the sword. The invaders then crossed the Ganges, and proceeded up its banks to near Hurdwar, where the river leaves the mountains. Several minor contests took place with bodies of the Hindoos in the skirts of the hills, in which Timur, although suffering from illness, and burdened with the weight of more than seventy years, took his full share of danger and fatigue, never scrupling to hazard his own person† equally with that of the meanest individual of his force. From Jammu or Jummoo, north of Lahore, he turned south, and reverting to the route by which he had entered India, took his final departure, having occasioned, during the short space of five months, an almost incredible amount of ruin and bloodshed.

For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned and nearly uninhabited. A chief named Ecbal at length obtained possession, but being slain on an expedition to Moultau, the authority reverted to Mahmood, who, having returned from Guzerat, had taken refuge at Canouj, then held by the king of Juanpoor. Mahmood died, A.D. 1412. His successor, Doulat Khan Lodi, at the expiration of fifteen months, was expelled by Khizer Khan, the governor of the Punjaub.

The Seyeds.—The new ruler, though born in India, was descended from Mohammed, and for this cause found favour with Timur, to whom he complained of having had the governorship of a portion of the Punjaub unjustly taken from him, and was thereupon appointed to the undivided rule of the whole. He affected to recognize his patron as emperor, and did not assume the title or style of royalty on taking possession of the government, which now comprised little beyond Delhi and the adjacent territory. The Punjaub was temporarily re-annexed by him, but the eastern portion, with the country about Sirhind, revolted and severed itself from Delhi, despite the opposition of Khizer, who made spirited efforts to maintain and extend his authority. Tribute was levied from the Rahtores in Rohilcund, and

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 494. For the career of Timur, *see* Elphinstone's able summary—*India*, vol. i., pp. 75 to 80; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., pp. 233, 243; and Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, pp. 116, 121.

† In Catrou's *Mogul Empire*, (a work published in 1709, and alleged to be founded on data collected by a Venetian named Manouchi, who acted as physician to Aurungzebe,) the troops of Timur are represented as commenting severely on the person of their leader, incited by a strong dread of Rana (the title signifying prince being mistaken for the name), whose dominions are described as "almost situate in the midst of Hindoostan," and whose Rajpoot soldiers had the reputation of being invincible. "Have we not," said they [the Tartars], one to another, "served this hair-brained cripple long enough, who, to the loss of a leg, has now, in this last battle, added the loss of an arm." They are, however, induced to persevere, and complete victory is the result. (p. 16.)

from other Hindoos near Gwalior, but the war with the king of Guzerat, though diligently prosecuted, had no important result, and that state retained its independence, as did also the permanent monarchies in the Deccan, together with Malwa, Bengal, Juanpoor (comprehending Oude and Canouj), and the governments of Samana, Biana, and Calpee (in Bundelcund). Khizer died in 1421—his three Seyed successors were engaged in struggles, first, with the Mogul ruler of Cabool (Shah Rokh, the son of Timur), who occasionally took part with the Gukkurs in ravaging the Punjaub; and afterwards with the kings of Juanpoor and Malwa. Under the sway of the last Seyed ruler, Ala-oo-deen, the territory appertaining to Delhi had become so reduced as in one direction to extend for only twelve miles from the capital, and in another scarcely a mile. Moultan, among other places, had become independent, but Badayoon beyond the Ganges being still possessed by Ala, he removed to that place, and having abdicated in favour of Behlol Khan Lodi, who forthwith assumed the title of king, A.D. 1450, he was suffered to remain unmolested in Badayoon for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life.

House of Lodi.—The grandfather of Behlol Lodi had been governor of Moultan under Feroze Toghlak, the great patron of the Afghans, and his father and uncles held commands under the Seyeds. Their wealth and power as military chieftains, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of the then sultan (Mohammed Seyed), by whom the Lodis were driven into the hills, where they successfully resisted his authority. Behlol found means to occupy, first Sirhind, then the whole of the Punjaub, and eventually (by a treacherous use of the influence of Hameed the vizier or prime minister of his predecessor Ala), gained possession of Delhi, to which the Punjaub became thus re-annexed, as also Juanpoor, after a contest carried on with little intermission for twenty-seven years. By this last acquisition, together with others of less importance, the dominions of Behlol were extended, until, at his death in 1488, they reached from the Jumna to the Himalaya mountains as far east as Benares, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna stretching to Bundelcund. The next king, Secander Lodi, regained Behar as far as the frontiers of Bengal, and increased his territories in the direction of Bundelcund. Secander was a just and merciful prince, a poet, and a munificent patron of letters. The single reproach on his character, one rarely brought forward against the Moslem sovereigns of India, is that of bigotry, evinced in the destruction of idolatrous temples in the towns and forts captured from the Hindoos, and in the prohibition of pilgrimages and ceremonial bathings on certain festivals at places situate on the sacred streams within his dominions. His conduct in this respect was at least in accordance with the teaching of the Koran, and greater toleration would have been contrary to his views of duty. The zeal of Secander is once, and only once, alleged to have prompted an act of cruelty, namely, the execution of a Brahmin who had sedulously propagated the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God." Ibrahim Lodi, the son and successor of Secander, early offended his family and clansmen, by declaring that a king should acknowledge no such relationship, but should place all the subjects of the state on the same footing. The Afghan chiefs whom his father and grandfather had suffered to sit in their presence, were henceforth commanded to stand in front of the throne with folded arms. The proud Lodi tribe enraged by the contumelious treatment they received, resolved to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and to raise his brother Julal Khan to the throne of Juanpoor. After a twelve-month's contest, Julal was taken prisoner and put to death by Ibrahim, who imprisoned the remainder of his brothers, and endeavoured by violence and treachery, to keep under the disaffected and rebellious spirit which his arrogance and distrust perpetually excited among his nobles. At length the whole of the eastern part of his dominions was formed into a separate state under Deria Khan Lohani, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjaub, dreading the fate of other viceroys, revolted and invoked the aid of a neighbouring potentate who had already evinced his desire to take advantage of the distracted state of India by marauding incursions into the Punjaub.

The celebrated Baber—sixth in descent through his paternal ancestors from Timur the Tartar or rather Turk, and connected through his mother with Jengis Khan the Mogul—acceded, at twelve years of age, by the death of his father to the throne of Fer-

ghana,* (A.D. 1494), which, notwithstanding his extreme youth, he struggled long and ably to retain, against his own relatives, and the Uzbeks,† who were then founding the dominion which they still possess in Transoxiana.

In the defence of his rightful inheritance Baber appears to have been at first successful, but the death of his uncle, the king of Samarcand, and the confusion which ensued, induced him to attempt the conquest of that city, and after more than one failure, this boy of fifteen became master of the famous capital of Timur. He had however bartered the substance of power for the shadow. The resources of Samarcand, already drained by war, afforded little assistance in the payment of the army, disaffection ensued, which spread to the troops left in Ferghana, and Baber prostrated for a time by dangerous sickness, arose stripped alike of the territory to which he had rightfully succeeded, and that acquired by the sword. After various attempts, both on Samarcand and Ferghana, Baber succeeded in regaining his native kingdom, but being again induced to leave it by the hope of securing the former place also, he finally lost both, and after several years of trial and vicissitude, was betrayed by some Uzbeks whom he had tempted to forsake their ally Tambol (his own rebel general), into the hands of this powerful enemy. Escaping from captivity, Baber, accompanied by his mother, bade a last farewell to Ferghana, with all the bitter feelings of an exile, aggravated by his own peculiar trials, and carrying with him fond recollections of that beautiful land which were never obliterated by the excitement of the brilliant career that awaited him beyond the range of the Hindoo Koosh.‡ The princely adventurer was well received in Bactria, and the Moguls flocked round his standard, until his small force of 200 or 300 men (many of them only armed with clubs) had become the nucleus of a regular and well-equipped army. At this time the descendants of Timur had been expelled from Cabool, which was occupied by the Mogul or Turki family of Arghoon, who had been for some time in possession of Candahar. Baber invaded Cabool, and found little difficulty in securing the sceptre, which he swayed for twenty-two years before his conquest of India, and then bequeathed to heirs of his own lineage, by whom it was enjoyed until the end of the seventeenth century. His long reign was spent in contests with internal and external foes. The rebellion of his brother, Jehangeer, and the attempts of two of his cousins to regain the sovereignty for this branch of the family of Timur, were with difficulty subdued. The victor freely forgave his brother, and spared the lives of his other relatives, thus evincing a clemency very unusual in an oriental despot, and the more to be admired since his power, and even existence, were repeatedly in jeopardy, and only rescued from destruction by the great skill and courage with which he never failed to govern and animate his troops. The conquest of Candahar and expeditions into the mountains of the Afghans and Hazarehs, occupied the first years of his sway in Cabool. In all these journeyings great perils and hardships were endured, and once he nearly perished in the snow during a winter march to Herat, undertaken to secure the co-operation of the members of the Timur house then ruling there, against the Uzbeks. With these old and determined enemies, Baber had many severe contests, until, happily for him, their leader Sheibani Khan, went to war with Shah Ismael Saffavi, king of Persia, and was defeated and slain in 1510. By this event the tide of Tartar conquest was turned, and Baber, aided by the Persian monarch, occupied Bactria and made important conquests in Transoxiana, but these were wrested back again by the Uzbeks, by whom his army was completely routed, A.D. 1514.

Baber now turned his attention to India, and after an invasion of the Punjaub, already alluded to, but attended with no important result, gladly accepted the invitation of its rebellious governor, Doulat Khan Lodi, to return under the pretext of claiming this part of the inheritance of Timur. Some of the Afghan chiefs remained loyal, drove out Doulat Khan, and opposed the assumption of the foreign usurper, but were totally overpowered, and Lahore itself reduced to ashes. Debalpoor was next stormed, and

* A small but rich and beautiful country situated on the upper course of the river Sirr or Jaxartes.

† The Uzbeks (so called from one of their khans or sovereigns) were what the geologists would call "a conglomerate" of tribes of Turki, Mogul, and probably of Fennic origin, the former greatly preponderating. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had possessed a large tract in Siberia.

‡ Vide *Memoirs of Baber*, written by himself in Turki, translated by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine; see also Mr. Caldecott's *Life of Baber;* Price, and the *Ferishtas'* of both Briggs and Dow.

the garrison put to the sword. Baber pursued his conquering course to Sirhind, when a quarrel with Doulat Khan, who fled to the hills, obliged him to retrace his steps, leaving Debalpoor in charge of Ala-oo-deen, a brother of king Ibrahim, who, having escaped from captivity, had joined the invader. Doulat Khan was checked by one of Baber's generals, but Baber himself, fully occupied in defending Balkh (the capital of Bactria) against the Uzbeks, deputed to Ala-oo-deen the charge of advancing upon Delhi, which he did, and the insurgents being increased to 40,000 by the disaffection prevalent among the king's troops, defeated the latter in an engagement under the walls of the city. Towards the close of the year 1525, Baber, having settled Balkh, and finally subdued Doulat Khan who was compelled to surrender his hill fort and *library of valuable books*—rather a singular possession for an Afghan chief of the sixteenth century—proceeded from Ropur on the Sutlej, above Lodiana, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Paniput, he learned the advance of Ibrahim at the head of an army, which, by his own account, numbered 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants. One quarter that amount, under an able and popular leader, might have sufficed to inspire the opposing force, of but 12,000 men, with despondency; but even if the numbers are correctly stated, the characters of the respective leaders render the result easy to be conjectured. Baber took up a position, linked his guns together with ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry, strengthening his flanks by field-works of earth and faseines. Ibrahim, on first approaching the enemy, seemed inclined to stand on the defensive likewise; but, changing his mind, after a few days' skirmishing, led out his army to a general engagement. While attempting to storm the hostile front, the flanks and rear of the assailants were attacked by the right and left wings of Baber, whose advance, showering flights of arrows, was seconded by an occasional discharge of cannon. After a protracted struggle, Baber, perceiving the success of his counter-movement, ordered his centre forward, and completed the rout of the Indian army. Ibrahim was killed, and his force having been nearly surrounded in the contest, which lasted from sunrise till noon, suffered prodigious loss, 15,000 being left dead on the field, of whom a third part lay in one spot around their king, while their total loss in the battle and pursuit was reported at 40,000. Baber mentions especially that his guns were discharged *many times* with efficiency, these engines of destruction having at this period (1526) attained neither in Asia or Europe their present terrible pre-eminence among the weapons of war. Delhi surrendered, and Baber advanced to occupy Agra, the late royal residence, where his first act was to distribute the spoil among his adherents, in a manner which procured for him the nick-name of "the Calender," in allusion to a religious order whose rules forbade them to make provision for the morrow. To his son Humayun was given a diamond of inestimable value, and a shahrukri* to every man, woman, and child in the country of Cabool.

House of Timur.—The conqueror assumed the supreme authority in India, and became the founder of what is universally called the Mogul empire. Yet Baber, although connected through his mother with the royal race of the Moguls, never names that people in his writings but with undisguised aversion, and always makes mention of himself as a Turk,† and the representative of Timur, whose barbarous massacres he too frequently

* This coin is only about tenpence or elevenpence in value, yet the total sum must have been very great.

† The terms *Turk*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* afford inexhaustible food for controversy to scholars versed in oriental learning; and to convey in few words anything like a clear idea of the different meanings severally attached to them, is utterly impracticable. For the sake of readers unversed in such discussions, it may however be useful to remark that Tartary is the general term now applied by Europeans to the extensive but little-known country whence, under the name of Scythia, barbarian hordes have from very early times issued forth to desolate the fairest portions of Asia and even Europe. Of these a passing mention has been made in noticing the events of the second century of our era (p. 49); the Tochari, named by Strabo as one of the four chief tribes by whom the Greek kingdom of Bactria was overthrown, being supposed to signify the Turks. Timur, in his *Memoirs* (p. 27,) and a Persian author quoted by Price in his *Mohammedan History*, ascribe the origin of the Khans or sovereigns of the widespread Tartar nations to Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. The great grandson of Turk, Alonjah Khan (during whose reign the people forsook the worship of the living God and became idolators), had twin sons named Tartar or Tatar, and Mogul or Mongol, and the quarrels of their immediate descendants gave rise to the inextinguishable animosities which have ever since prevailed among their respective tribes. Mogul is said to be derived from Mungawul, signifying abject or simple-hearted. Tartar, according to the traveller Carpini, A.D. 1246, was the term applied to the Su or Water Mongols, one of four chief tribes then inhabiting Central Tartary, from the name of a river which ran through

imitated wherever the slightest resistance was offered; probably desiring by this ferocity to inspire a degree of terror not warranted by his limited force. Yet Baber was in domestic life kind and affectionate; his *Memoirs* offer repeated evidence of feelings unchilled by ambition and grandeur, of sensibility to the beauties of nature and art retaining its freshness amid the declining years of pampered royalty, and of a temper whose sweetness remained to the last unmarred, even by the thorny pillow of an usurper, or the excesses into which his social temperament helped to draw him. "It is a relief," says Mr. Erskine, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the companion of his boyhood." And Mr. Elphinstone, when citing this remark, adds—"He [Baber] speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fire-side, and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities." Yet this same individual, in many points so estimable, nevertheless deserved the degrading surname of Baber (*the Tiger*), which has superseded his more flattering designations,* for in his character of conqueror even he could seldom afford to be merciful and still more rarely to be just.

To return to the narrative—the occupation of Agra was far from carrying with it the conquest of the kingdom, and before that could be accomplished Baber had three distinct obstacles to overcome; namely, the opposition offered by the Moslem viceroys, who had revolted in the time of Ibrahim, as well as by Afghan and Fermuli chiefs, attached to the late government; secondly, the deep aversion of the Hindoos, evinced by the abandonment of the villages near the spot where the army was encamped, and the consequent difficulty of procuring grain or forage. In the third place, the troops themselves became disaffected, and the weather being unusually sultry and oppressive, so aggravated the sufferings necessarily experienced by natives of cold countries during an Indian summer, that at length all ranks united in demanding to be led back to Cabool. Baber declared his unalterable determination of remaining in India, but gave to all who chose permission to return. The majority decided to stay and share his fortunes, but a part persisting in their former desire, were dismissed with honour under the authority of Khaja Khilan, who was appointed to a government beyond the Indus. This arrangement produced a change of feeling throughout the kingdom, and dissipated the general idea that Baber would depart as Timur had done. Some governors voluntarily tendered submission, detachments were sent to reduce others, and in the course of four months, not only had the country held by Sultan Ibrahim been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lodi, including the former kingdom of Juanpoor, were conquered by Prince Humayun. The supremacy of Baber being thus established over the Moslems, his arms were next directed against the Hindoos.

their territory (Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 30), while Gmelin (*Decouvertes Russes*, vol. iii., p. 209) gives the derivation of the word from *tatanoi*, to collect, used in a reproachful sense to denote robbery, and declares that the Moguls and Calmucks, who are doubtless closely allied, have not the shadow of a tradition which favours the idea of their having ever composed one nation with the Tartars (meaning Turks). De Guignes, on the contrary, recognizes only the Eastern and Western Tartars—the first the Manchoos, the second Turks and Moguls, whom he looked upon as one race, the latter descended from the former. His authority, though usually of much weight, is in this respect diminished by the mistakes committed in confounding distinct races, and likewise in the indistinct geography of Tartary—defects scarcely to be avoided even by writers of the present day on this dark and difficult subject. The tribes now inhabiting Tartary are very numerous and various: language is the chief, if not the only guide by which Europeans have been enabled to class them under the heads of —1st, *Manchoos*, who extend over the region called Mantchouria, stretching from the Eastern Ocean along the north of China, and whose influence is confined chiefly to that country, where at the present moment (1853) a severe struggle is taking place for their extirpation; 2nd, *Moguls*, who occupy the central portion (Mongolia) between the other two; 3rd, *Tartars or Turks*, (of Toorkistan,) whose boundary is the Muz Tagh (ice mountains), the Belut Tagh (dark or cloudy mountains), Hindoo Koosh, &c. The Turki is the language of the Tartars as distinguished from that of the Moguls, but whether these two differ essentially or only as very different dialects of the same tongue is perhaps yet to be decided (Erskine's *Baber*, p. xxi.) Whatever may be the barrier between the Turks and Moguls, it is certainly a great one and of ancient origin. In appearance the contrast is most striking between the short, square, and athletic though disproportioned body, bullet-shaped head, small angular eyes, scanty beard and eyebrows, high cheek-bones, flat nose, and large ears of a Mogul or Calmuck, and the comely form of a Turk, whose well-known Caucasian features and flowing beard in many points resemble those of a European, the exception being the contraction of the eyes.

* His original name was Zehir-oo-deen (protector of the faith) Mohammed (greatly praised).

Sanga, the Rajpoot prince of Mewar (sixth in succession from Hameer Sing, the recoverer of Cheetore or Chittoor in 1316), had immediately before the arrival of Baber been engaged in hostilities with Mahmood, king of Malwa, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Delhi was likewise the enemy of Sanga, who opened a friendly communication with Baber while marching against Ibrahim, but on finding him established on the vacated throne, transferred his enmity to the new ruler, and proceeded to combine against him with the Lodi chiefs (previously defeated by Humayun) and Hasan Khan, rajah of Mewat, a hilly tract extending towards the river Chumbul, from within twenty-five miles of Delhi, and including the petty state now called Macheri or Alwa. The first movements of the Hindoos were successful; the garrison of Biana (within fifty miles of Agra) were driven with loss into their fort, and communication cut off between them and the capital. Baber marched forward with all his forces, and at Sikri, about twenty miles from Agra, found himself in the vicinity of the enemy, by whom his advanced guard was immediately attacked, and though supported by the main body, was defeated with heavy loss. The assailants, instead of following up the victory, withdrew to their encampments, and thus gave Baber time to fortify his position, and revive, by his own indomitable energy, the drooping spirits of the troops. This was no easy task; for the Indian auxiliaries began to desert or give way to hopeless despondency, and the feeling spread throughout all ranks, being deepened by the unlucky arrival of a celebrated astrologer from Cabool, who announced, from the aspect of Mars, the inevitable defeat of the Moslem army, which was drawn up in an opposite direction to that planet. Baber cared little for soothsaying, but fully recognised the perils of his position, and, by his own account, repented of his sins, forswore wine, gave away his gold and silver drinking-vessels to the poor, and remitted the stamp-tax on all Moslems (that is, the revenue collected by means of a stamp or mark affixed on all imported articles). Assembling all the officers, from the highest to the lowest, he addressed them in glowing terms—not, however, in the usual inflated style regarding the rewards, temporal and eternal, awaiting the champions of Islam, but appealing almost exclusively to their sense of honour, and setting the chance of military glory, in plain terms, against the risk of death. With one accord they swore on the Koran to conquer or to die, and Baber determined to bring matters to an immediate crisis, a step rendered the more expedient by the daily accounts of fresh disturbances in the provinces. A desperate battle ensued; rajah Sanga was defeated, and escaped with difficulty; Hasan Khan and many other chiefs were slain. The mistaken astrologer ventured to congratulate Baber upon his victory, but received in return a sharp lecture for perversity, conceit, and mischief-making, with a command to quit the royal dominions, accompanied, however, by a liberal present in acknowledgment of long service, faithful though not discreet.

Mewat was next reduced and settled. In the beginning of the following year (1528) Chanderi, on the borders of Bundelcund and Malwa, was attacked. It was held by Medni Rai, a Rajpoot chief, who had escaped from the late battle, and desperately but vainly defended by the Rajpoots, who, on perceiving the troops of Baber mounting their works, slew their women, rushed forth naked, drove the enemy before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued to fight with unabated fury until all had found the death they sought: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Medni Rai's house, who for the most part slew one another sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy. An Afghan insurrection occurred simultaneously with this siege. The latter was no sooner ended than Baber marched to the Ganges, where the Afghans were drawn up, threw a bridge over the river under cover of artillery, and compelled the insurgents to disperse and take refuge in the dominions of the king of Bengal. It was probably on this occasion that he reduced South Behar, which was subsequently seized by the Lodi prince, Sultan Mahmood, who being once more forced to fly, all that country south of the Ganges reverted to Baber; but North Behar remained in the possession of the king of Bengal, with whom a treaty of peace was formed. The health of Baber now began to fail, and its decline was hastened by circumstances connected with the dangerous illness of Humayun. The physicians had declared the condition of that prince to be beyond the help of their art, upon which the fond father resolved to devote his own life to the preservation of his son's, in conformity with a superstition still prevalent in

the East. His friends, who do not seem to have in the least doubted the efficacy of the measure, entreated him to forbear for the sake of the millions whom he ruled, but without effect. After the customary formula of walking three times round the couch of the prince, Baber spent some moments in earnest prayer to God, and then, impressed with a conviction of the fulfilment of the desired sacrifice, exclaimed, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" All historians agree that Humayun began from that time to recover, and Baber to sink rapidly, which latter result may be readily believed. Calling together his sons and ministers, he enjoined concord among them all, and affection among his children, and soon afterwards expired at Agra, A.D. 1530, and was buried in Cabool, at a spot selected by himself, and still marked by a small mosque of marble, above which rises a hill, from whence a noble prospect is obtained. Though he did not attain to the age of fifty years, Baber had, in one sense, lived many lives, from the incessant activity of both mind and body.* On his last journey, when his constitution was evidently giving way, he rode in two days from Calpee to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch, and swam twice across the Ganges, as he mentions having done every other river he traversed. Besides the necessary business of the kingdom, the intervals of peace were occupied by planning aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, and in the introduction of new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to indite many elegant Persian poems, and compositions in Turki, which entitled him to distinction among the writers of his age and country. His contemporaries were, in England, Henry VII. and VIII.; in France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; in Germany, Maximilian and Charles V.; in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles. Thus the career of Baber formed part of a memorable epoch, of which the great events were—the discovery of America by Columbus; of the passage to India, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco di Gama; the increase of the power of France by the annexation of the great fiefs to the crown, and of Spain by the union of its kingdoms under Charles; the destruction of the empire of Constantinople; the influence of the art of printing; and the rise and progress of the Protestant reformation. (Luther and Baber were born in the same year.)

Baber left three sons besides Humayun, but as he made no declaration in their favour he probably intended the empire to descend undivided to the child for whose life he had evinced such tender solicitude. Of the three younger brothers, one named Kamran was governor of Cabool and Candahar, and being firmly seated there, appeared disposed to maintain his position if necessary by a degree of force with which Humayun could ill cope, since to assemble an army for action in Cabool would necessitate the evacuation of the lately-acquired and disaffected provinces. Kamran was therefore recognized as the independent ruler of his previous government, to which was added the Punjaub and the country on the Indus. The other brothers, named Hindal and Askeri, were appointed to the sway of Sambal and Mewat. By the cession to Kamran, Humayun was deprived of the trusty and warlike retainers who had long been the hereditary subjects of his family, and left to govern new conquests, unsupported by the resources which had materially contributed to their acquisition. At first, by the aid of the veteran army of his father, he succeeded in putting down the Afghan insurrections, which were among the early disturbances of his reign, and came to terms with his future rival, Sheer Khan (an influential Afghan, claiming descent from the kings of Ghor), who submitted on condition of being suffered to retain the hill-fort of Chunar, near Benares. His next struggles were with Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, one of the most powerful of the states formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, and which had been recently increased in size and influence by the annexation of Malwa, and the vassalship or fiefdom promised by the princes of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednugger. Bahadur had taken under his protection Ala-oo-deen, the brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who had

* Towards the close of his life, Baber observed that since his eleventh year he had never kept the annual fast of the Ramzan twice in any one place—a strong proof of the roving, warlike disposition which brought him to India. And it should be remembered that, in spite of many attractive qualities, Baber comes under the same condemnation, for lawless usurpation and bloodshed, as his ferocious ancestors, Jengis and Timur. Nor is his private character free from heavy reproach. Drinking he eventually renounced; persevered in the use of intoxicating confections; but polygamy, with other vices not to be named, he refers to with as little regret as to the "erection of minarets of human heads," and other common incidents of war.

played so conspicuous a part during that monarch's disastrous reign, and he assisted him with troops and money to assemble a force for the attack of Agra, A.D. 1534. The attempt failed, for the army was as speedily dispersed as it had been collected, and Tatar Khan, the son of Ala, fell bravely fighting at the head of a division which had remained faithful amid the general desertion. Humayun proceeded against Bahadur, who was engaged in besieging Chittoor or Cheetore, then held by the Rana of Mewar, but was induced, (by the remonstrances of Bahadur against the impiety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with infidels, or else by his own dilatory habits), to retard his march until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an intrenched camp at Mandesor, rendered formidable by artillery, commanded by a Constantinopolitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners.* These advantages were however wholly neutralized by the enemy's success in cutting off the supplies, and thus making the position untenable, upon which Bahadur blew up his guns, and, leaving the army to disperse as they chose, fled by night almost unattended to the sea-port of Cambay, whither he was followed by Humayun, who reached that town on the evening of the day on which the fugitive had departed for a more secure place of refuge at Diu, in the remotest part of the peninsula of Guzerat. While the pursuers were encamped at Cambay, a night attack was made by the Coolis, a forest-tribe, still famous for similar exploits in this part of India, with such silence and wariness, that the royal tent itself was plundered, and the baggage and books carried off—among the latter was a copy of the *History of Timur*, illustrated with paintings. Humayun, in unjust retaliation for the conduct of these mountaineers, gave up the town to plunder, and then quitting the peninsula, proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerat. The hill fort of Champaneir, he surprised by a stratagem, having, with 300 chosen men, scaled the walls in the night by means of iron spikes, fixed in an almost perpendicular rock; the daring besiegers, including the king, ascending separately during an attack made on one of the gates by the army.†

Shortly after this success, and before sufficient time could elapse for the consolidation of his new conquests, Humayun was recalled to Agra by intelligence of the proceedings of Sheer Khan, who had made himself master of Behar, including the strong fortress of Rohtas,‡ and was successfully prosecuting the invasion of Bengal. The measures of this usurper had been laid with much skill and circumspection, his hope being, by the union of the Afghans, to

* In the *Memoirs of Humayun*, written by Jouher the ewer-bearer, (a faithful servant who attended that monarch during his adversity, and was eventually rewarded by a treasurership in Lahore) and translated by Major Stewart, it is asserted that Bahadur had entered into a treaty with the Portuguese, (established at Surat some time before), and had by their assistance raised a force of 6,000 Abyssinians or negroes. Price, on the authority of Abu Fazil, states, that Bahadur had sent a deputation to Diu to solicit the aid of the Portuguese viceroy, or captain-general of the possessions of that nation on the western side of India, requesting his assistance in waging war against the house of Timur. The Portuguese commander accordingly assembled at Diu a considerable body of troops, and a powerful naval armament, in readiness to meet Bahadur, on whose arrival, it is said, some cause of suspicion, not satisfactorily explained, induced the European chief, instead of coming to meet his ally, to remain on board ship on pretence of illness. Bahadur, with a degree of confidence which seems to indicate the whole affair to have originated, not in a misunderstanding, but in systematic treachery on the part of the Portuguese, put himself on board a galley to visit the alleged invalid; but had no sooner reached the admiral's vessel, than, perceiving the deceit practised upon him, he endeavoured to return to the shore. The Portuguese had however resolved on first obtaining from him the cession of certain ports at Guzerat, and endeavoured to detain him by fair words, entreating a moment's delay while they brought a present in token of profound respect; but Bahadur desired that the present might be sent after him and persisted in making for the ship's side. The Portuguese Cazi (probably the fiscal) now interposed and forbade his departure, upon which the Sultan in a paroxysm of indignation drew his scimitar, clove him in twain, and succeeded in gaining his own galley, which was speedily hemmed in by the enemy's fleet. An unequal conflict ensued, and Bahadur, perceiving the inevitable result, sprang into the sea, and is generally supposed to have been drowned. The date of this event, A.D. 1537, is preserved in the Persian characters comprised in the sentence, "Feringuian Bahadur Kosh,"—*Portuguese butchers of the hero.*—(Price, vol iii. p. 751).

† After its capture the stronghold was vainly searched for the treasure it was believed to contain; one officer alone knew the secret, which it was proposed to draw from him by torture, but to this Humayun refused to consent, and directed that wine and good cheer should be tried instead. The expedient proved successful, and the officer willingly revealed the existence of a large amount of gold and silver at the bottom of the reservoir, which was at once apparent on the water being drawn off.

‡ Rohtas was taken by treachery from a Hindoo rajah. Sheer Khan, having besought an asylum for his family, introduced two armed soldiers in each of the covered litters supposed to contain women, and then easily overcame the unsuspecting garrison.

drive the Moguls out of the country, and re-establish a Patan dynasty.* To retard the advance of Humayun he had strongly garrisoned the famous fortress of Chunar, which stands on a rock close to the Ganges, on what may be termed a detached portion of the Vindya mountains. As Humayun marched along the river, and conveyed his guns and stores by its waters, he was compelled to commence hostilities with the siege of this fort. By a cruel stratagem† information was acquired regarding the state of the defences, and attempts were made to mine the accessible portions of the walls on the land side, and by floating batteries to bear upon the face fronting the river.—These failed, but the garrison, after several months' resistance, were starved into surrender, and the right hands of all the gunners, to the number of 300, cut off, without the consent of Humayun, by his chief engineer Rumi Khan, who soon afterwards, through the malice of rival courtiers, perished by poison. At the defile of Sicragali, a detachment of the imperial army, sent to take possession, were attacked and repulsed with considerable loss by the son of Sheer Khan, who then rejoined his father in the hills, leaving the pass unobstructed, having followed out the well-devised policy of impeding Humayun as far as possible without hazarding any decisive conflict. During the protracted siege of Chunar, Mahmood had been defeated and Gour reduced by Sheer Khan, who having removed the captured treasures to the before-mentioned fort of Rohtas, whither he had previously assembled his family, now left Gour undefended. Humayun took possession, but gained little advantage thereby, for the rains had attained their climax, the Delta of the Ganges was one vast sheet of water, and in the country beyond the reach of inundation every brook and channel had become an impassable flood. It was impossible to carry on operations in Bengal, and extremely difficult to communicate with upper India. Several months of forced inactivity elapsed, rendered doubly wearisome by the moist and sultry climate. The sickly season that followed the heavy rains thinned the ranks of the soldiers, and depressed their spirits so greatly that when the roads became again traversible they began to desert in numbers—Prince Hindal, who had been left in North Behar, setting the example. Meanwhile Sheer Khan issued from his retreat, seized Behar and Benares, recovered Chunar, laid siege to Juanpoor, and pushed his forces up the Ganges as far as Canouj. Humayun once more found his communication with the capital intercepted, and leaving a detachment which he could but ill spare to guard Gour, he reluctantly set out to return to Agra with the remainder of his diminished army, but was intercepted between Patna and Benares by Sheer, who had raised the siege of Juanpoor and advanced by forced marches for this purpose. Instead of at once attacking the troops of his rival while suffering from fatigue, Humayun suffered many valuable hours to elapse, and the next morning found Sheer (who had now assumed the title of Shah or king) so skilfully intrenched that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Humayun therefore, in turn, fortified his position and began to collect boats, with a view of forming a bridge across the Ganges, and then pursuing his way along the opposite bank. Sheer Shah suffered this work to proceed for two months, but when it approached completion, he attacked Humayun about day-break in three colums, and completely surprised the camp. Humayun attempted to rally his troops, but with little effect, and after receiving a wound in the arm was prevailed on by three of his favourite officers to seek safety in flight, and plunge at once into the Ganges.‡ Here his career had nearly terminated, for before reaching the opposite bank his horse sunk from exhaustion, but the royal rider was saved by the exertions of a poor man opportunely crossing at the time with a leathern bag or water-skin inflated like a bladder. Thus rescued, Humayun, accompanied by a very small retinue, fled to Calpee, and thence to Agra, (A.D. 1539.) Almost the whole army had been slain or drowned, and the queen, who having been early surrounded it had been the object of his last exertion to release, remained in the hands of the enemy, but was treated with great delicacy and consideration. By some accounts, Sheer Shah

* According to *Ferishta*, the proper country of the Afghans is called Roh, and extends along the Indus; but, subsequent to the introduction of Islam, having settled at Patna on the Ganges, they gradually acquired the appellation of Patans.

† Rumi Khan (originally a Turki slave named Soghrauk, but promoted for his ability, and thus entitled by the Guzerat princes), severely flogged a *negro* slave, and sent him to play the part of a deserter in the fort. The Afghans received him kindly, and suffered him to examine their works, which having done, he returned to his intriguing master.

‡ The three officers returned to the battle and nobly perished in attempting to rescue the queen.

is said to have gained this important victory by treachery, having broken an armistice, which from his character is very probable—but by others it is asserted that he never promised to suspend hostilities, but only contrived to delude his adversary into so doing by delusive negotiations and other pretexts, which war is too generally supposed to justify and even necessitate. On reaching Agra, Humayun found Hindal in open rebellion, and Kamran preparing to take a similar course, but his sudden arrival forced them to come to terms, and the three brothers, after spending eight or nine months in preparation, assembled a fresh army to attack Sheer Shah. Kamran remained to guard Agra while Humayun crossed the Ganges near Canouj by means of a bridge of boats, at the head of 90,000 cavalry, with kettle-drums beating and trumpets sounding. A general action ensued (A.D. 1540), the imperial troops were again utterly routed and driven into the Ganges, and Humayun himself escaped with extreme difficulty. After exchanging his wounded horse for an elephant, he crossed the stream, and was drawn up the steep bank by two fugitive soldiers, who having reached the shore in safety, twisted their turbans together, and threw the ends to his assistance. After this discomfiture, Humayun, with Hindal and Askeri, took refuge in Lahore, where Kamran had previously retreated, but this prince, having made peace with the conqueror by the cession of the Punjaub, retired to Cabool, leaving his unfortunate brother to provide as best he could for his own safety. The succeeding adventures of the royal wanderer would form a fitting pendant to those of the English Stuarts, from the instances of unwavering loyalty, connected with his hair-breadth escapes—while his character as a Mussulman, though far from faultless, will yet well bear comparison with that of the professedly Christian but licentious Charles, or even of the "bonnie Prince," for whom Scottish chivalry and misfortune have combined to win a place in the page of history, which would probably have been very differently filled had the Young Pretender been destined to become a crowned king instead of dying in exile.

After the desertion of Kamran, which was followed by that of Hindal and Askeri, Humayun* sought to obtain the recognition of his authority in Sinde, then ruled by Hussyn, the head of the Arghoon family—but after a year and-a-half wasted in alternate negotiations and hostilities, he found his funds exhausted, and the adventurers who had rallied round his standard dispersed, just as Hussyn approached to venture a decisive conflict. During the previous interval, Humayun, then about three-and-thirty years of age, had married a beautiful girl of fourteen, with whom he had become enamoured at an entertainment prepared for him in the apartments of the mother of Prince Hindal. Carrying with him his young bride Hameida, he fled to Ouch, and thence proceeded to ask the protection of Maldeo, rajah of Marwar, but on reaching Joudpoor, after a toilsome journey over the desert, during which he lost many of his followers from thirst and fatigue,† a new disappointment awaited him in the discovery of the unfriendly disposition of the rajah. The royal fugitive, again driven to seek comparative safety amid the dreary sands, now led his little band towards Amercot, a fort in the desert, not far from the Indus. In this route they experienced yet greater trials than during the one previously taken. Before quitting the inhabited country, the villagers repelled all approaches to their wells, which were to them precious possessions, and it was not without a conflict and bloodshed that the travellers were enabled to slake their burning thirst. After leaving behind the last traces of human culture, their obstacles and difficulties increased ten-fold until, one morning, when faint and weary with a long night march, Humayun, who had remained behind with the females and servants, while the few chiefs marched on at some distance in front, perceived the approach of a considerable body of horse, under the command of the son of Maldeo, and prepared to meet a fate similar to that of the Imaum Hussyn and his ill-fated com-

* These names, like almost all Eastern appellations, have each a distinct signification. Thus, Humayun, means *auspicious*; Kamran, *successful*; Hindal, *Indian*, and Askeri, *born in the camp*.

† At one time they are stated to have travelled twenty-seven hours without finding water, and at the expiration of that time, having at length come upon a well and rivulet, Humayun alighted, and after prostrating himself in gratitude to the Almighty, ordered all the water-bags to be filled, and sent back on his own horses for the use of those who had fallen exhausted by the way, adding at the same time a melancholy but needful command, for the burial of "all the persons who had died from thirst." A very unpleasing anecdote is however related by Jouher, of Humayun's having taken advantage of the thirst of a Mogul merchant who had lent him money, to oblige him to cancel the debt.

panions.* The valour of Sheikh Ali Beg, one of Humayun's bravest and most faithful followers, appears to have warded off the immediate danger, and soon afterwards the Hindoo leader, bearing in his hand a white flag, approached the party, and having represented that they had wilfully done wrong in killing kine in a Hindoo country, and likewise in entering his father's territory without leave, supplied them with water for their immediate relief, and then permitted them to proceed without further molestation. Several weary marches, with intense suffering from thirst, further diminished the small but faithful band, before Humayun with seven mounted horsemen reached Amercot, where the Rana† (Pursaud) welcomed the dethroned monarch with most courteous and generous hospitality. The remainder of the fugitives found refuge within the walls of the fortress on the same day, and thankful indeed must Hameida have been to quit her horse, and find at length an interval of rest. Pursand offered to assist Humayun in a fresh endeavour to establish himself in Sinde, placing at his service 2,000 horsemen of his own tribe (Rajpoots), and 5,000 cavalry belonging to his allies. These auxiliaries, or a portion of them, were gladly accepted, and Humayun, accompanied by the Rana, with about 100 Moguls, whom he had himself succeeded in assembling, marched towards Tatta. Hameida remained at Amercot, and on the following day gave birth to the celebrated Akber (A.D. 1542). The joyful intelligence was immediately forwarded to Humayun, who unable to practise the munificence customary in the East on these occasions, called for "a china plate," and breaking a pod of musk, distributed it among the chiefs who came to offer their congratulations, saying—"this is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will I trust be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." Joon or Jiun (a place not marked on the maps, but supposed to have been situated on a branch of the Indus, half-way between Tatta and Amercot, was captured after an action with the officer in charge, and though harassed by the troops of the Arghoons, Humayun's party held their ground, and were strengthened by the neighbouring princes until they amounted to about 15,000 horse. Hameida and the infant prince (by this time about six weeks old) joined the camp, and all seemed prospering, when Rana Pursaud received an affront from a Mogul, and was so dissatisfied by Humayun's conduct in the matter, that he indignantly quitted Joon, with all his followers and friends. Humayun, thus rendered too weak to contest with Hussyn Arghoon, proceeded to Candahar, but was compelled by his turbulent brothers to escape to Seestan with Hameida, and thence to seek refuge in Persia, the infant Akber falling into the hands of his uncle Mirza Askeri, who showed more kindness on the occasion than might have been expected.

Afghan tribe of Soor.—Sheer Shah‡ assumed, as has been shown, the title of king in 1540, and took possession of all Humayun's territories. After commencing the famous fort of Rohtas on the Hydaspes, on which he expended an enormous sum of money, and named after that in Behar, he returned to Agra, and there found employment in subduing the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He conquered Malwa in the course of the year 1542, and soon afterwards reduced the fort of Raiseen, held by a Hindoo chief. The garrison surrendered on terms, but after they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared void on some quibbling legal pretext, and the Hindoos were attacked and cut to pieces after a brave resistance. Barbarous as the Mohammedans too often showed themselves in India, yet treachery such as this can hardly be paralleled, save in the career of Timur. In 1544, Sheer marched into Marwar, which was desperately defended by rajah Maldeo, who, though able to collect only 50,000 men wherewith to oppose his adversary's powerful army, estimated at 80,000, and probably well-provided with artillery, appears to have at first succeeded in overawing the invader, aided by the natural obstacles offered by the sterility of his

* In the desert of Kerbela, A.D. 680, Hussyn, the son of Ali and Fatima, with seventy-three persons of his family, including his infant child, were cruelly massacred. Several heroic youths, his sons and nephews, perished singly in defending the venerated person of the Imaum; who after a protracted defence at length sunk, mutilated of an arm and covered with wounds, of which thirty-six were counted on his dead body, before it was finally crushed by twenty horsemen, and then left to be devoured by wild beasts. The unfortunate females were thrown across the backs of camels and afterwards stripped and publicly exposed—all these atrocities being committed by Mohammedans. (Price, vol. i. p. 410.)

† The patronymic of the princes of Mewar.

‡ His name was changed from Fureed, to Sheer Khan, or *Lion-knight*, from his slaying a wild beast while hunting with the king of Berar.

territory and the want of water in many parts of it. At length Sheer Shah, always a cunning schemer, contrived to sow division in the hostile camp by the common expedient of letters written on purpose to be intercepted. The rajah's suspicions were raised against some of his chiefs, and he commenced a retreat. One of the suspected leaders, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the true Rajpoot spirit, to give incontestable proof of its injustice, and quitting the army at the head of his own tribe fell with such impetuousity on the enemy, that Sheer Shah with difficulty and severe loss succeeded in repelling the assailants. He was, however, eventually victor here, as also at Chittore; but at Calinjer, to which he laid siege, a striking retribution awaited him. The rajah, warned by the breach of faith committed at Raiseen, refused to enter into any terms with his perfidious foe, and Sheer, while superintending the batteries, was so scorched by the explosion of a magazine struck by the rebound of a shell, that he expired in a few hours, but continued to direct the operations of the siege during his mortal agonies, his last words being an exclamation of pleasure at learning that the place was taken.

This ambitious, cruel, and vindictive man, nevertheless evinced considerable ability in civil government, and, happily for the subjects of his usurped authority, seems to have recognised the promotion of their welfare as his best means of security. He caused a high road to be constructed, extending from Bengal to the western Rohtas, near the Indus, a distance of about 3,000 miles, with caravanserais at every stage, all furnished with provisions for the poor, and attendance of proper casts for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. An Imaum (priest) and Muezzin (crier to call to prayers) were placed at the numerous mosques erected on the route; wells were dug at distances of a mile and-a-half, and the whole way planted with fruit-trees for refreshment and shade. Sheer Shah was buried in a stately mausoleum still standing at Sahseram, placed in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water. Previous to his death, his eldest son had been the recognised heir to the throne, but being a prince of feeble character was supplanted by his brother, who reigned for nine years, under the title of Selim Shah. On his decease, A.D. 1553, his son, a boy of twelve years old, was murdered by his uncle, who seized the throne under the name of Mohammed Adili,* but was prevented from using the powers of a ruler by natural incapacity, increased by habits of the most odious debauchery. His extravagance speedily emptied the royal coffers, upon which he resumed the governments and jaghires† of the nobles and bestowed them on the lowest of his creatures. The proud Afghans, stung even more by the insulting bearing of their unworthy ruler than by the injuries they suffered at his hand, fled in numbers, and raised the standard of revolt at Chunar. Meanwhile, the person of the king was protected and his authority upheld by the exertions of Hemu, his chief minister, a Hindoo of mean appearance and low origin, who had formerly belonged to the very lowest class of small shopkeepers, as a retailer of salt, but who had been gradually raised to power by the late king, and now displayed a degree of zeal and ability, which would have honoured a better cause. From some weakness or physical defect Hemu was unable to sit on horseback, but he directed all military operations, and fought with unfailing intrepidity from his litter mounted on an elephant. Not the least extraordinary part of his history is the manner in which he succeeded in reconciling such of the haughty Afghans and unruly Moguls as still remained with Adili, to his authority; this he appears to have done chiefly by the munificence with which he distributed whatever treasure or revenue came into his hands—for his objects and motives, though scarcely indicated in the contemptuous and calumnious mention made of "this swarthy upstart" by Mussulman historians, unquestionably soared far above the mere accumulation of wealth. Delhi and Agra were seized on by Ibrahim Soor, a member of the reigning family, who attempted to assume the supreme authority under the name of Ibrahim III., but was opposed by Hemu, and also by Secander Soor, another relative of Adili's, who caused himself to be proclaimed king in the Punjaub. Ibrahim was defeated first by Secander and then by Hemu. The adventurous minister next marched towards Bengal, to

* This wretch, known before his usurpation as Moobariz Khan, is alleged to have dragged the prince from his mother's arms, that mother being his own sister and tried friend. (*Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 142.)

† The revenues of certain lands granted by the king, sometimes in perpetuity but generally revocable at pleasure, and on military tenure.

opposc the governor, Mohammed Soor, who had assumed the rank of an independent ruler. Hemu was again victorious, this new adversary being defeated and slain; but struggles in other quarters still continued, and a more formidable foe than any yet dealt with, arose in the person of the dethroned Humayun, who had gradually re-established himself in the Punjaub, where Seeander, who had occupied Agra and Delhi on the defeat of Ibrahim, now marched for his expulsion. Before narrating the success of Humayun and Akber, and the fate of Ibrahim and of Hemu and Adili, it is necessary to revert to previous events and sketeh the chain of circumstances which ended in the restoration of the exiled monarch.

House of Timur restored.—Humayun entered Persia in much uncertainty regarding the reception he should receive from Shah Tahmasp, the son and suceessor of Shah Ismael, the first of the Saffavi or Sophi kings. Though both were zealous Mohammedans, they belonged to distinct sects, characterised by a degrce of mutual animosity, for whieh the differenee of opinion existing betwecn them on doctrinal points far less than those which divide the ehurches of England and Rome, is quite insuffieient to account.—(*See* note to p. 62). Shah Tahmasp was a strenuous advoeate of the Sheiah doctrine, which had been widely disseminated through Persia by the instrumentality of his ancestors, dervises much famed for sanctity, while Humayun was a Sonnite, and this was doubtless one cause of the want of cordiality whieh marked the private intercourse of the two monarehs, whose connexion was really, on both sides, an interested one. At first Humayun seems to have been inclined to put in praetice his cherished desire of eeasing, at least for a time, the weary struggle for power, in which he had been so long engaged, and proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but his faithful followers urgently dissuaded him from this project, pleading the disastrous results it would have on the fortunes of Akber. The reception met with in Persia sueccssfully seconded their arguments—the governors of each province received him with regal honours, the people came out to bid him welcome, and palaces were prepared for his accommodation at Cazvin and elsewhere. But the splendour with which the Persian despot thought proper to gild the fallen majesty of his unfortunate compeer, was unaccompanied by a single ray of true sympathy; for many months Humayun was not suffered to appear before the Shah, and his brave-hearted envoy, Behram Beg, was harshly treated for refusing to wear the peculiar-shaped cap,* from which the Persians have acquired the title of Kuzilbash (*Red-heads*), in allusion to its colour, and whieh was expressly designed for a sectarian symbol. Behram urged that he was the servant of another prince, and not at liberty to act without orders. He persisted in deelining to assume this badge, unawed by the displeasure of Tahmasp, who strove to intimidate the refractory ambassador, by the summary execution of some prisoners brought before him for the purpose. This incident was a sufficiently significant prelude to the long-delayed interview, during which Tahmasp affected to receive Humayun as his equal, but in reality took ungenerous advantage of his defeneeless position, by compelling him, by means of threats affecting life itself, to assume the obnoxious cap. Nor even after this eoncession could Tahmasp resist taunting his guest with having, during his prosperity, when praetising the favourite Arabian form of divination by arrows, to discover the destiny of reigning princes, placed the name of the king of Persia in a rank inferior to his own. Humayun frankly aeknowledged that he had done so, and gently urged in justification his hereditary rank as Padshah† or Emperor of India, whereupon Tahmasp broke out into violent and unjust invective against the arrogance whieh had rendered him a fugitive, and thrown his female relatives and infant heir into the hands of his enemies.

Notwithstanding the humiliations suffered in private from what he justly termed "the meanness of this Persian monarch," Humayun eontinued to receive every outward mark of unbounded munifieence in the festivals prepared in his honour, especially the military diversion of great circular hunts, so famous in the annals of Timur. All the expenses thus incurred are however said to

* The cap whieh Humayun so reluctantly assumed was that called *Taji Hyder*, in honour of Hyder, the father of Shah Ismael, by whom it was first adopted. It consisted of a tiara of erimson silk, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, of a high conieal shape and divided into twelve segments, in honour of the twelve Imaums, from whom the reigning family elaimed deseent.

† This title was exclusively assumed by the dynasty of the Great Mogul.

have been repaid two-fold by the gift of a few rich gems, which the exiled monarch had brought with him from Hindoostan. One of these was a diamond, which the jewellers of Tahmasp declared to be above all price, it was perhaps that obtained at Agra, and there estimated in a somewhat indefinite manner as equal in value "to the purchase of a day's subsistence for one-half the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe." Behram Beg, the bearer of this costly offering, was dignified by the title of Khan, and another officer with that of Sultan, but it was not without far heavier sacrifices that the assistance, from the first promised to their sovereign, was at length afforded. He was compelled to sign a paper, the contents of which, though not precisely stated, involved a pledge, in the event of success in regaining the sceptre of Baber, to cede to Persia the province or kingdom of Candahar, and likewise to introduce among the Mussulmans of India the profession of the Sheiahs in opposition to that of the Sonnites. Orders were then given for the assemblage of 14,000 horse in Seestan, under the command of Murad Mirza, the son of Tahmasp, and after some more bickering the monarchs parted, and Humayun proceeded again to try his fortune in war, his private forces amounting only to about 700 men. At this period (1545) Sheer Shah was still alive, Kamran swayed Cabool, and his younger brothers, after the settlement of their private quarrels, received appointments under him; Hindal being governor of Ghuznee, and Askeri of Candahar, which latter place was attacked by Humayun and captured after a siege of five months. Askeri was taken and kept in close captivity for the next three years. The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of them returned home, leaving a garrison under Murad Mirza. According to Abul Fazil* the conduct of the Persians to the inhabitants was so cruelly oppressive as to justify Humayun, on the sudden death of Murad, in treacherously seizing the fortress; his troops obtaining entrance thereto on the plausible pretext of placing Askeri in charge of the Persian governor. Some of the garrison offered resistance on discovering what was really intended, but their opposition was soon silenced in death, and the remainder were suffered to return to Persia. From Candahar, Humayun marched to Cabool, of which he took possession without a struggle, for Kamran, finding himself deserted by Hindal and many other chiefs who had gone over to the now successful brother, had sought refuge in Sinde. With Cabool, Humayun recovered Akber, then between two and three years of age, but both the city and the young prince were subsequently re-captured by Kamran, who long held his ground against all attempts for his expulsion. Prisoners taken during this siege were slain in cold blood by the assailants, and treated with yet greater barbarity by Kamran, who threatened, if the firing were not discontinued, to expose Akber on the walls. Eventually, being unable to continue the contest, he escaped by night, and by the aid of the Uzbeks again made head against his brother for about eighteen months, but was, at the expiration of that time, compelled to surrender. Humayun behaved on this occasion very nobly, treated Kamran with great kindness, released Askeri, and, accompanied by Hindal, sat down with them at a feast. The four brothers having eaten salt† together, seemed for the time entirely reconciled, but during Humayun's subsequent absence in Transoxiana, the conquest of which he had resolved on attempting, Kamran once more rebelled, and after many vicissitudes, (during which Cabool and the young prince were again lost and won, and Hindal fell in the cause of Humayun,) was finally betrayed by the sultan of the Gukkurs, with whom he had taken refuge, into the hands of his much-injured brother. Some chiefs, whose wives and children had been savagely disgraced and murdered by order of Kamran during the siege of Cabool in 1547, now loudly urged that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. This Humayun steadfastly refused,

* Abul Fazil, the famous minister of Akber, recorded the leading events of the reigns of this sovereign and his father in an heroic poem comprising 110,000 couplets, from which Ferishta has borrowed largely. Although a man of extraordinary ability, he was, unfortunately for the students of history, an accomplished courtier and professed rhetorician, delighting in the cumbrous and inflated style still in vogue in India. His account of important events is therefore often unsatisfactory, and, unless carefully weighed, misleading; but, notwithstanding their defects, his works (the *Akber Namah* and *Ayeen Akbery*) afford information not to be obtained elsewhere.

† In the east it is regarded as peculiarly infamous for either the giver or receiver of the lowest description of hospitality, to practice hostility against one another. Thus, salt, which forms an ingredient of the most sumptuous or humble meal has become a type and pledge of good faith.

but consented to allow him to be blinded, the barbarous method commonly resorted to in the East, to crush ambitious pretenders to that uneasy seat—the throne of a despot. The cruel operation was usually performed by means of a searing instrument, called a fire-pencil, held against the visual nerve until it was annihilated, or by means of antimony; but in this case, perhaps from the fact of several state prisoners condemned in late reigns to a similar fate having escaped its completion—a lancet was employed, and after many wounds had been inflicted, without drawing a groan, lemon-juice and salt were at last squeezed into the sightless orbs of the wretched sufferer, who then exclaimed in uncontrollable agony—"O Lord my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next." Humayun shortly afterwards went to visit his unhappy brother, and wept long and bitterly while Kamran confessed the justice of his punishment, and asked leave to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. This he was suffered to do, and died in that place in 1557. Askeri, who had likewise returned to the course of rebellion after having repeatedly abjured it, had been previously captured, but was only punished by imprisonment, from which he also was released, for the purpose of proceeding to Mecca, and died on his way thither. Thus delivered from the difficulties in which the turbulence and disunion of his brothers had involved him during so long a period, Humayun began to take advantage of the unsettled state in which the death of Selim Shah and the misgovernment of his successor had involved the territories conquered by Baber, which had gradually, as has been shown, been parted by various usurpations into five distinct states, whose rulers were at variance with one another. In January, 1555, he started from Cabool with 15,000 horse, obtained possession of Lahore, and subsequently engaged Secander, who being defeated fled to the mountains near the Himalaya, leaving Humayun to occupy Delhi and Agra. The portion of his original dominions thus at length regained, after sixteen years of strife and banishment, had been enjoyed by Humayun less than six months, when an accident occurred which produced fatal results. The monarch had ascended the terrace at the top of his library to enjoy the cool evening air, and give orders respecting the attendance of astronomers to note the rising of Venus, which was to be the signal for the announcement of a general promotion among the nobility and officers. While preparing to descend the steep and highly-polished stairs, protected only by an ornamental parapet a foot high, a muezzin or crier announced the hour of prayer from the minarets of the adjoining mosque, where the people being assembled had just offered the monarch the usual *kornesh* or salutation. Humayun, intending to repeat the customary formula, attempted to seat himself on the spot, but his foot becoming entangled in the folds of his robe, he fell headlong down the steps, receiving a contusion on the right temple, of which he died, aged somewhat less than forty-nine years.

Historians agree in according him high rank as a benevolent, forgiving, and munificent prince, intrepid in the hour of danger, patient in adversity, moderate in prosperity, and skilled in literature, mathematics, geography, astronomy, and the mechanical sciences. These varied gifts, united to a naturally easy temper, pleasing person, and courteous demeanour, rendered his society so delightful that Baber used often to declare Humayun to be without an equal as a companion. Procrastination and indecision were his characteristic failings; these may be easily traced to the frequent and intoxicating use of opium, a vice whose degrading influences were heightened by the peculiar defects of his religious creed. Perhaps no single character, when carefully weighed would afford an inquirer into the effects of Mohammedanism on individuals more striking evidence than that of Humayun. His conduct repeatedly affords evidence of the want of a steady principle of action, directing even the passing thoughts of the mind, and marking with a broad line the difference between right and wrong. Notwithstanding the false notions of expediency which led him to commit, or at least sanction, crimes from which a naturally gentle and easy disposition must have revolted, col. Dow has said that "had he been a worse man he would have been a greater monarch." The remark sounds strangely, but it is to be hoped that young students of history will not forget that all Christendom concurs in invoking the same just, merciful and omnipotent Ruler to give wisdom to senators and prosperity to nations—therefore any description of greatness, inconsistent with the goodness inculcated in the Gospel, ought simply to excite abhorrence

and reprobation. Most assuredly the man who, in an unrighteous cause, has made mothers childless, and widowed happy wives, desolated cultivated lands and spread famine and pestilence in his train, has attained in the sight of his Creator a pre-eminence in crime little in accordance with the idea commonly attached to the word greatness. Some ray of light, breaking through the dense clouds in which the teaching of the False Prophet had involved the purposes and results of war, beamed on the mind of Humayun, when not many days before his death he prayed, "Lord, ennoble me with the knowledge of thy truth;" and described himself as "sorely afflicted by the perplexities of a troubled mind." The faith of Islam and its innumerable observances had thus utterly failed to enlighten or sustain even a follower, so diligent in their observance, that a sentiment of deep reverence had all his life long preserved him from so much as uttering the name of his Creator with unwashen hands.*

A new epoch is formed by the reign of Akber, since by him India was consolidated into one formidable empire, by the absorption of the various small kingdoms which had sprung up during the reign of Mohammed Toghlak, as also by the annexation of numerous Hindoo principalities, which Akber obtained far less by force than by the favours and distinctions which he invariably bestowed on the native rulers so soon as they consented to recognize his supremacy, without regard to their religious opinions. Before proceeding further, the origin and condition of these states must be shown, as the reader may probably need this knowledge for subsequent reference.

The *Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan* was founded by an Afghan, born in the lowest condition at Delhi, and servant to a Brahmin astrologer, named Gungoo, much favoured by Mohammed Toghlak. In consideration of his good conduct, Gungoo gave Hussun a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a piece of land for his own sustenance. While ploughing, Hussun discovered a copper casket filled with ancient gold coins, which he carried to his master, who, in return, used his utmost influence at court, and succeeded in rewarding the honesty of Hussun by obtaining for him an appointment and jaghire in the Deccan, under the governor of Doulatabad. Some time afterwards, the officers of the Deccan, by refusing to surrender some fugitive chiefs from Guzerat, incurred the displeasure of Mohammed Toghlak, and fearing to fall into the hands of this cruel despot, broke into open rebellion. On the establishment of their independence Hussun was chosen as king, A.D. 1347, and the capital fixed at Culbarga, whence it was subsequently removed to Beder or Bidr. Hussun, on assuming the regal honours of the mosque and mint,† took the name of Ala-oo-deen, adding thereto Gungoo Bahmani (Brahmin), in honour of his early benefactor, whom he sent for and made treasurer; and the succeeding princes of the Deccan followed this example by generally committing to Brahmins the charge of the revenues. Notwithstanding the close connection between the first Bahmani king and his Hindoo patron, his son and successor, Mohammed I., proved a sanguinary foe to that people. "It is computed," says Ferishta, "that in his reign [of seventeen years] nearly 500,000 unbelievers fell by the swords of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced that it did not recover for several ages."‡ This destruction was accomplished by indiscriminate slaughter, without regard to sex or age, a proceeding at length stopped by the remonstrances of the Hindoo ambassadors, who urged that since the princes of the Deccan and of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, it was advisable that a treaty should be made, binding both parties to refrain from taking the life of the helpless and unarmed. From this time, it is asserted, that the conquered were no longer slain in cold blood during the hostilities carried on by the Bahmanis against the neighbouring states, and especially the new monarchy of Beejanuggur, throughout the whole period of their existence, excepting the reign of Mahmood Shah I., who, for nearly twenty years (A.D. 1378 to 1397), by rectitude and discretion, preserved his subjects alike from foreign and domestic strife.§ Although in these conflicts many thousand Moham-

* Price, from *Abul Fazil*, vol. iii., p. 944.

† The *Khotbah* is the public prayer for the reigning king; *Sicca* the royal right of stamping coin.

‡ By the Carnatic is here meant the country where the Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Colapoor and Beder. It must be remembered that this tract continued, up to the time of the Mohammedan writer to be devastated by almost incessant wars.

§ The proceedings of Mahmood Shah I. occupy but a few pages in Ferishta's history, far less than are often given to the details of a single campaign, but quite enough is said to make the reader solicitous to learn more respecting this truly great and gifted mo-

medans, in the fantastic and fanatical language of their historians, "tasted the sherbet of martyrdom," they were on the whole gainers. In 1421, Ahmed Shah took permanent possession of Warangol, and compelled the rajah of Telingana to relinquish his ancient capital. In 1471, Mohammed II. concluded a struggle of more than forty years' duration, in which much life and treasure had been wasted, by the partial conquest of the Concan,* and in 1477 completed the subjugation of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam. Notwithstanding these successes, Mohammed was rendered infamous, even in the eyes of his fellow-believers, by the slaughter of some Brahmins whom he found officiating in an idolatrous temple at Condapilli, and to this ungrateful outrage on the Order, by whom his ancestor had been first brought to notice, was popularly attributed the downfall of the Bahmani dynasty. Soon after this, the king, while flushed with wine, was induced, by a forged letter, to sanction the immediate execution of his faithful minister, Mahmood Gawan, then in the seventy-eighth year of his age. By so doing, he sealed the fate of his house, whose power was speedily absorbed in the whirlpool of strife raised by the two factions into which the troops had become divided. *The first* consisted of Mogul converts, to whom were gradually added Persians and Turks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucks, and other Tartars, who were for the most part of the Sheiah sect; *the second*, or native troops, called Deccanies, were Sonnites, and were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the seaports on the western coast.†

The late minister was a Sonnite, and although just and kind to both sects, this circumstance afforded a pretext to Nizam-ul-Moolk Behri, the son of a converted Hindoo, and the leader of the opposite party, for gratifying his ambition. Having succeeded in procuring the death of Gawan, he obtained also his much-coveted office, through the fears of the king, who, on learning the base plot by which he had been deceived, openly bewailed his rash credulity, but made no attempt to bring the conspirators to justice. A low fever, brought

narch. We are told that he was "naturally of a disposition wise, merciful, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct." * * * "During his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the government." The praise is coldly given, but in the present day the character of a ruler in whom firmness and mildness were so admirably balanced will be regarded in a very different light to that in which it was likely to be viewed by a Mohammedan, who regarded the title of *Ghazi* (the holy warrior), bestowed on the blood-thirsty Mohammed, as the most desirable of distinctions. Indeed the virtues of Mahmood Shah I. savoured little of the morality of the Koran. He had but one wife, wore plain white robes, and was equally simple and unpretending in all his habits. As a youth he is said to have delighted in gaudy attire, but on acceding to the throne he declared that he looked upon kings as only trustees of the state, and thenceforth observed in his personal expenses remarkable moderation. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed 10,000 bullocks, at his private expense, in going to and from Malwa and Guzerat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Culbarga, Beder, Cand'har, Elikpoor, Doulatabad, and in several other great towns, with ample foundations for their support, apportioned stipends to the expounders of the Scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. The fame of his learning and munificence is said to have reached the ears of Hafiz, the poet of Shiraz, who resolved to visit the Deccan. An assurance of an honourable reception was sent by the king, accompanied by a present, which, according to Ferishta, the poet distributed among his relations and creditors, and then put himself on board one of the royal vessels which had arrived at Ormus, but the anchor was scarcely

weighed before a heavy gale arose, and the ship was compelled to return to port. Hafiz had suffered so much during the storm that he insisted on being put ashore, sending to Mahmood Shah a copy of verses, in which he frankly confessed the reason of his change of mind—

> "The glare of gems confused my sight,
> The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard."

Unhappily, the line of Bahmani presents an instance of a monarch exactly opposite to Mahmood Shah I. Humayun the Cruel was one of those monsters who seem possessed by a demoniac desire to cause and witness suffering. His own brother he ordered to be devoured by a tiger, before his eyes; and the tortures inflicted by his command, and in his presence, were often too shocking to be narrated. On one occasion, after an unsuccessful rebellion, 7,000 persons, including unoffending females and servants, perished by such agonizing deaths as hewing to pieces with hatchets, and flaying in cauldrons of scalding oil or boiling water. After reigning three years this tyrant, during a fit of intoxication, was assassinated by his own servants.—Briggs' *Ferishta.*

* The sufferings of the Moslems in the Concan are very graphically told by Ferishta, who describes their "wandering through gloomy defiles, where the very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, poison impregnated the breeze." On one occasion, having halted at night, in a spot so rugged as to prevent two tents being pitched side by side, no less than 7,000 of the invaders were surprised and put to death by the Hindoos, the fierce gusts of wind rushing through the trees, preventing the cries of the first sufferers being heard by their companions.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 430.

† The influx of Arabians appears to have been very small, but it is difficult to conjecture the reason.

on by grief and remorse, was aggravated by intoxication, and he expired in strong convulsions, crying out that Gawan was tearing him to pieces. The date of his death, A.D. 1482, is recorded in the Persian characters (applied numerically) which express "the ruin of the Deccan." Mahmood Shah II. next ascended the throne. Being but twelve years old and of limited ability, he naturally became a mere puppet in the hands of the grasping nobles, who, though for a time disposed to co-operate for their own advantage, soon broke out into new hostilities. Behri, for some years, maintained his ascendancy over the young king, and Yusuf Adil Shah, the leader of the foreign party, withdrew to his government of Beejapoor, which he formed into an independent state. Behri, when old and defenceless, was strangled at the instigation of the king, who then gave himself up to every species of excess, leaving the public affairs in the hands of the leaders of the foreign party. The Deccanies and Abyssinians conspired for his destruction, and having surprised the palace during one of the ordinary scenes of midnight revelry, would have succeeded in their object, but for the loyalty of some half-dozen of his body-guard, who, though unarmed, threw themselves between him and the assassins, and by the sacrifice of their own lives, enabled the king to escape to the terrace of the royal tower, where he was joined by the foreign troops. Mahmood, mounting his throne at sunrise on the following day, gave orders that the houses of the Deccanies should be broken open, the inhabitants slain without distinction, and their property seized by the triumphant Moguls,* who gladly gave vent to the savage fury which they had nursed for years; and all the horrors of a successful siege, heightened by the envenomed bitterness of intestine broils, raged for three days through the stately city of Beder. Strife and cruelty naturally brought licentiousness and disorder in their train. "The people, following the example of their prince, attended to nothing but dissipation: reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns and presided over the wine-flask."† The governors of frontier provinces took advantage of this state of affairs, each one to claim as his own the territories entrusted to his charge. Ahmednuggur, Goleonda and Berar became distinct principalities, until at length there remained to the nominal king of the Deccan no more than the province of Telingana and the districts adjacent to Beder. Even there he had no real sway, being wholly in the hands of Kasim Bareed, who had assumed the reins of government after the failure of the Deccani plot, and in revenge for Mahmood's attempts to get rid of him, as he had previously done of Behri, by the hand of an assassin, ruled him so tyranically, as to forbid him "even to satisfy his thirst, without permission." On the death of Kasim, his son, Ameer Bareed, succeeded him in the office of Vakeel,‡ and after regaining the person of the king, who had in vain endeavoured to assert his rights, confined him closely, until his death, in 1518, terminated a nominal reign of thirty-seven years. The two years' equally nominal sway of Ahmed, the son and successor of Mahmood, being ended by his decease, Ameer Bareed raised to the throne a prince entitled Ala-oo-deen II., who, rejecting all allurements to the excesses by which the energies of his predecessors had been destroyed, attempted to out-manœuvre the wary minister, but having failed in an attempt to seize his person, was himself made prisoner and put to death. His successor, also a son of Mahmood Shah II., met with a similar fate; for Ameer Bareed having conceived a passion for his wife, caused him to be poisoned, married the queen, and bestowed the empty title of Shah on another Bahmani prince, who, having subsequently incurred his displeasure, by making a private and unsuccessful appeal to Baber, the new emperor of India, then fully engaged in hostilities with the kings of Malwa and Guzerat, was so harshly treated, that, escaping from his palace-prison, he took refuge at Ahmednuggur, and there resided till his death. Thus ended the Bahmani line. Bareed Shah ascended the throne of Beder, and founded a dynasty, which reigned over the fifth of the kingdoms (Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, Goleonda, and Berar), formed from that called the Deccan, but not with geographical accuracy, since Hindoo states, independent and even antagonistic, existed in

* This term must be here understood in the loose sense in which it was then used, as synonymous with the whole foreign or Sheiah party.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 535.

‡ The Vakeel or Representative was then the first person in the kingdom, his business being to issue all orders from the royal closet to the vizier and other executive officers.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 202.)

various parts of the territory commonly comprehended in that term. During the above period* of two centuries, relations of a domestic character had gradually arisen between the Moslems and Hindoos. Feroze Shah, who began to reign in 1397, made it an article of a peace with the rajah of Beejanuggur, that he should give him his daughter in marriage. This stipulation perhaps contributed to the blending of the two people, though it originated in the ungoverned passions of a king, who received into his harem 300 females in one day, being convinced, by the reasoning of the Sheiahs, that this proceeding was in perfect accordance with the spirit of the Koran, against whose doctrines his sole offences are said to have been an addiction to wine and music. These foibles would weigh lightly enough in the judgment of a Mussulman against a king who earned the coveted name of *Ghazi*, by the unbounded zeal for Islam evinced during "four and twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions." In reality, the religious feelings of both Moslems and Hindoos had deteriorated, and the conscientious scruples of the former people became frequently little better than a superstitious regard to certain forms.

Thus the very men, who, for the sake of gain, entered the service of the rajah of Beejanuggur, to fight against their fellow-believers, cavilled at the idea of making the obeisance required as a pledge of fealty to an idolator, but gladly availed themselves of the miserable pretext of having a Koran placed before the throne and bending thereto, it being understood that the rajah would appropriate the homage as offered to his person, and in return, assign lands for the support of his new auxiliaries, and build a mosque at his capital for their encouragement.

The early Bahmani kings lived in great pomp. Mohammed Shah I. had 3,000 elephants, a favourite evidence of regal splendour.† He obtained from the rajah of Telingana a throne six cubits long by two broad, of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold and inlaid with gems, to which additions were made in successive reigns, until the whole attained the value of a crore of hoons (£4,000,000 sterling), when it was broken up by Mahmood Shah II., who took it to pieces to make vases and goblets. Some terrible famines are recorded at intervals, occasioned, according to Ferishta, by the absence of the periodical rains, but more likely by the slaughter and oppressive exactions of the Mohammedans. During one of these visitations, about A.D. 1474, no grain was sown in Telingana, Maharashtra, and throughout the Bahmani dominions for two years, and on the third, scarcely any farmers remained to cultivate the land, having for the most part perished or emigrated to Malwa and Guzerat.

Adil Shah dynasty at Beejapoor.—The first king of this line, Yusuf Adil Shah, reigned from A.D. 1489 to 1510. A romantic story is related of his royal descent. He is said to have been a son of the Ottoman emperor Amurath, at whose death he escaped destruction by the contrivance of his mother, who had him conveyed to Persia, from whence, at the age of sixteen, he was compelled to fly, by the suspicions entertained regarding his birth, was captured, and sold at the Bahmani court as a Georgian slave. He rose, according to the course of Mameluk adventurers, until he became the governor of Beejapoor, and then, by one of the acts of flagrant disloyalty so common at the period, took the first opportunity of declaring himself an irresponsible prince. From that time he was occupied in hostilities with Kasim Bareed of Beder, and other neighbouring chiefs, who were also endeavouring to form independent principalities; but his most formidable foe was the Hindoo rajah of Beejanuggur. With the new rulers of Ahmednuggur and Berar, Yusuf entered into a sort of partition treaty, by which he recognised them in their unlawful seizures, and they him in the possession of the country bounded by the Beema and Kishna rivers on the east, the Tumbuddra river on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Neera river on the north.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king, A.D. 1535, formed an alliance with Bhoj Tirmul, (who had obtained the throne of Beejanuggur by the murder of its young occupant, his

* Ferishta makes some remarkable statements respecting the use of artillery in the Deccan. For instance, he asserts, that in 1368, (22 years after their alleged employment by Edward III. at Cressy) 300 gun carriages were among the spoil captured from the Rajah of Beejanuggur; and the Moslems, by the aid of Turks and Europeans, are said to have used artillery for the first time in the following campaign. There can be little doubt that guns were common in India before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498.

† The king in return signed a treaty pledging his successors to forbear further encroachment on the territory of the Telingana rajahs, which, as might be expected, did not prevent its entire seizure.

own nephew), against Rama Rajah, the regent and brother-in-law of the late sovereign. Ibrahim sent an army to the assistance of Bhoj Tirmul, who, in return, paid down fifty lacks of hoons* (£2,000,000 sterling), and promised to acknowledge himself tributary. No sooner had the foreign troops quitted Beejapoor, than Rama Rajah, breaking, it is alleged, a promise of allegiance which had been extorted from him, surprised the city. Bhoj Tirmul, mad with rage and despair, shut himself up in the palace, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, collected together, in one glittering heap, the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other gems, amassed during many ages, and caused them to be crushed to powder between mill-stones; then, fixing a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, rushed upon it just as the palace-gates were opened to his enemies. Rama Rajah became the undisputed master of Beejanuggur, and Ibrahim, after having received from his predecessor so large a bribe to take the field against him, now stooped to the humiliation of soliciting, with a costly present, the aid of Rama against a brave chief, Seif Eindol-Moolk, driven into rebellion by his own suspicious tyranny. The required assistance was sent under the guidance of Venkatadri, the Rajah's brother. Ibrahim died soon after, of a complication of disorders brought on by the most abandoned conduct, having first caused several physicians to be beheaded or trodden to death by elephants for failing to cure him, upon which the rest fled for their lives, leaving him to perish unheeded. His successor, Ali,† entered into a new alliance with Rama Rajah, and the two monarchs having, at the request of the former, united their forces, jointly invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, and, says Ferishta, "laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmednuggur to Doulatabad, not a vestige of population was left." Ali at length became "scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies," and alarmed at the growing strength and haughtiness of Rama; therefore, after receiving the full benefit of his power, while continuing every outward mark of friendship, he made a secret league with his late enemy, Nizam Shah, and with the kings of Beder and Golconda, "to crush the common enemy of Islam." A decisive battle took place on the Kishna, near Talicot, the Hindoos commencing the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery. A general engagement followed, in which, after great numbers had been slain on both sides, the Moslems were victorious, aided by the treachery of two Mohammedan chiefs in the pay of the rajah. Rama, although seventy years of age, gave orders from his elephant throughout, but was at last captured, and brought into the presence of Nizam Shah, by whose orders his head was struck off and stuck upon a pole. It is no small proof, either of the barbarity of the conquerors or the dread which their victim must have inspired, that the head of the brave old man should have been annually exhibited at Ahmednuggur for more than two centuries and a half, covered with oil and red pigment, by the descendants of his executioners, while a sculptured representation of it was made to serve as the opening of one of the sewers of the citadel of Beejapoor.

Thus ended the monarchy of Beejanuggur, which at that time comprehended the greater part of the south of India. The city of that name was destroyed, and is now uninhabited; the country fell into the hands of the tributary chiefs and officers, since so well known as zemindars or poligars; but the confederate kings were prevented by their mutual jealousies from gaining any great addition of territory, the balance of power being pretty evenly maintained among them, until all were overwhelmed by Akber. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, removed his residence further east, and finally settled at Chandragiri, seventy miles north-west of Madras, at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, A.D. 1640. The wars between the Adil Shah dynasty and the Portuguese settlers are very slightly mentioned by the native historians; they state little more than that Goa was lost under Yusuf, retaken by that king, lost again under his son Ismael

* The *hoon* varies in value from 3½ to 4 rupees—eight shillings sterling may be taken as the average.

† This monarch (whose death by the hand of a eunuch shamefully insulted by him, has rendered his name infamous) greatly improved the capital by constructing the city wall and the aqueducts which still convey water through every street. Mention is made of his receiving tribute from several petty principalities, the government of which was hereditarily vested in females, who ruled with the title of *Ranies*, their husbands having no power in the state. Colonel Briggs remarks upon this statement of Ferishta, that "the gynecocracy of the Ranies of Malabar and Canara seems to have suffered no alteration from the period alluded to, to the present day."—*Note* to *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 140.

(alluding to the second capture by Albuquerque, in 1510), and attacked simultaneously with Choul, in 1570, by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, who were both repulsed.

The reigns of the early Beejapoor kings were marked by fierce sectarian strife, for Yusuf had imbibed in Persia a strong attachment to the Sheiah doctrines and ceremonial, which he endeavoured to introduce in his dominions, but was compelled to renounce the attempt by the displeasure of his subjects and the combination formed against him by all the other Mohammedan sovereigns. The same division prevailed among the troops as that previously described as existing under the Bahmani dynasty, and according to the opinion of the king or his chief ministers, the Deccanies (including Hindoos), or the foreigners, were uppermost. After the extinction of their native rulers, the Hindoos formed the chief part of the infantry of most of the Moslem governments, and appear to have been well paid* and entirely relied upon. Yusuf is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Mahratta chief,† and Ismael raised "a vast number" of Mahratta cavalry, under the name of Bergies, who, for an annual subsidy, engaged to appear fully equipped whenever their services were required. Ibrahim, the fourth king, caused the public accounts to be kept in the Mahratta language instead of the Persian, a very politic and almost necessary measure, since the village accountants and the revenue and finance officers were for the most part Hindoos. Ibrahim II., who acceded to the throne of Beejapoor, A.D. 1579, was cotemporary with Akber, and will be again mentioned.

Nizam Shah dynasty at Ahmednuggur.—Ahmed, the first of these kings, began to reign A.D. 1490, having, as before stated, on the assassination of his father, Nizam-ool-Moolk Behri, assumed the title of Shah, and made Ahmednuggur his capital. Not only tolerance, but great favour was shown to the Hindoos by this monarch and his successor, Boorhan, who appointed a Brahmin, named Kawar Sein, Peshwa or prime minister, and had every reason to rejoice in the selection. In fact, these kings appear to have been proud of their Brahminical descent, and frequent wars took place between them and the Berar sovereigns, for the possession of the village of Patree, situate just within the Berar territory, where the ancestors of the Nizam Shah family had held the office of *coolcurny* or hereditary village accountant. It was, however, by the orders of Hussun, the third king of this dynasty, that Rama Rajah was beheaded, in revenge for the humiliations previously suffered from his brave foe, to whom he had been compelled to sue for peace, by paying the Hindoo a visit, and receiving a pân (aromatic leaf) from his hand, which, thus given, implies the superiority of the donor, and is equivalent to the English custom of kissing hands; but, when presented in a silver or gold box, or on a salver, denotes equality.‡ Hussun died shortly after, from the consequences of unbounded dissipation. His successor, Murtezza, appears to have become insane, and growing suspicious of his son, Meeran Hussun, the heir apparent, endeavoured to destroy him, by setting fire to the couch on which he lay sleeping. Meeran escaped, successfully rebelled, and seized the person of his father, who, although ill of a mortal disease, he confined in a bath-room, and suffocated with hot air. Ferishta, who was at the time on guard at the palace, relates this horrible tale, adding, as the reason of his life being spared during the general massacre of the few who remained faithful to the king, "the Prince fortunately knew me, and reflecting that we had been school-fellows, and brought up together, ordered my life to be spared."§ Meeran Hussun retained the throne less than a year, but during that period he inflicted great misery, frequently riding through the streets in fits of intoxication, accompanied by a party of abandoned courtiers, and putting to death persons guilty of no crime. Fifteen princes of the royal family were massacred in one day, in order to establish an authority obtained by parricide, at the instigation of the vizier, Mirza Khan, who, at length terrified by the menaces of the king during his drunken revels, deposed and slew him. A speedy retribution attended

* Briggs gives a table (vol. ii. p. 504) showing how much more liberally Indian troops were paid by Mohammedan sovereigns in 1470 than by the British in 1823 (the date at which he wrote).

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 84.

‡ The chivalrous Rajpoot probably intended to waive the performance of this galling act, for when Hussun entered his tent, he rose and took him by the hand, but the insolent Mussulman called for a basin and ewer as if polluted by the touch of Rama, who exclaimed in his own language, "If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck." After this interview the rajah and his troops are accused of treating their Mohammedan foes and even friends with great indignity.

§ Briggs' *Ferishta* vol. iii. p. 269.

this wretch, for in the struggle which ensued between the Deccanies and the Moguls, he was hewn to pieces by the former, and his limbs affixed on different public buildings. In the space of seven days, nearly 1,000 foreigners were slain, and their effects confiscated; some few escaped with their lives, through the protection of Deccani or Abyssinian officers, and these, among whom was Ferishta, for the most part, obtained service under the king of Beejapoor.

The remaining reigns of this line present no very striking features, excepting the gallant struggles made by Chand Beeby (*the Lady Chand*) as regent on behalf of her infant nephew, after the death of her brother, Ibrahim, slain in battle with the king of Beejapoor. An attempt was made to seize the throne in the name of a boy called Ahmed, under a shallow pretence of his being a son of the late king. Chand Beeby evinced equal valour and discretion during this trying period,* and her efforts were temporarily successful. Ahmed, the young pretender, was confessed to be not lineally descended from the royal family, and was provided with an estate by Ibrahim Adil Shah, at Beejapoor, while Bahadur was proclaimed king, his aunt continuing regent until the siege of Ahmednuggur by the son of Akber. Then, hopeless of offering a successful defence, in consequence of the factions which divided the troops, she called a council of war, and proposed to negotiate, on favourable terms, the evacuation of the fort. The ungrateful Deccanies, to whom her suggestion had been purposely misrepresented by an intriguing eunuch, rushed into her apartments and put her to death. The place was shortly after taken by storm, and little or no quarter given. The unfortunate king was sent to Akber, who confined him in the fortress of Gwalior, A.D. 1599, but was prevented from gaining possession of his dominions by the determination of an Abyssinian officer, Malek Amber, (who founded the city afterwards called Aurungabad,) to retain the sovereignty on behalf of his newly-elected nominal master, and the Adil Shah dynasty was not extinguished until the time of Jehangeer. At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednuggur comprehended all that is now called the Subah of Aurungabad, and the west of that of Berar, with a portion of the sea-coast of the Concan. It must have been a formidable power, for it appears that in one campaign upwards of 600 of its guns were seized by the rival state of Beejapoor, including the cannon still preserved at the latter place, and famous as one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.† Duelling (an infrequent crime in Asia) was introduced in the reign of Ahmed, who, being himself an expert swordsman, encouraged the assemblage of young men at the palace for the purpose of displaying their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. The king then endeavoured to discourage the practice, but it spread far and wide among the Mohammedans of the Deccan. Even learned divines and philosophers shared the infatuation, and Ferishta records an instance which he witnessed in the streets of Beejapoor, of a dispute arising regarding some trifling matter, and terminating in a few minutes in the death or mortal injury of six persons of high standing, of whom five were grey-headed men. The spread of this destructive and contagious vice was, of course, fostered by the rancorous sectarian-spirit between the Sonnites and Sheiahs—the native and foreign factions.

The Kootb Shah dynasty at Golconda was founded, about A.D. 1512, by a Turcoman soldier, named Kooli Kootb, who came from Hamadan, in Persia, in quest of military service, entered the guards of the Bahmani king, was promoted, and, on the dissolution of the monarchy, held sway over Telingana, which he retained, making Golconda his capital. He was a zealous Sheiah, and introduced this profession into his dominions.

* On one occasion when closely besieged, after having succeeded in destroying two out of five mines carried under the bastions at Ahmednuggur, by herself labouring all night at the head of the garrison, a third was sprung at day-break, which killed many of the counter-miners, and threw down several yards of the wall. The principal officers concluding all now lost, prepared for flight, but Chand Beeby, clad in armour, with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand rushed to defend the breach, and while the Mogul storming-party waited the explosion of the other mines, found time to bring guns to bear upon it, so that on the enemy's advance they were received with repeated volleys, until, when compelled to renounce the attack by the darkness of night, "the ditch was nearly filled with dead carcases." During the succeeding hours Chand Beeby (on whom the name of Chand Sultana was now bestowed) superintended unceasingly the repairs of the breach, which by the morning's dawn was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. At length, reinforcements being on their way, the siege was raised.

† Weighs 40 tons, is 4 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the muzzle, and only 15 ft. long. Calibre, 2 ft. 4 in.

At the close of a long reign he left a territory extending from the Godavery river to beyond that of the Kishna, and from the sea (Bay of Bengal) to a line drawn west of Hyderabad, about 78° E. long. The chief part of his dominions were wrested from the Warangol family, and other Hindoo chiefs of Telingana, over whom, together with the Rajah of Orissa, he gained a great victory at Condapilli.

It has been stated in a previous page, on the authority of Ferishta, that the Bahmani line abided by the oath of Mohammed Shah I., not to slay prisoners or the unarmed in cold blood, but if this dynasty really redeemed its pledge, the rulers of the subsequent Deccani kingdoms reverted to the barbarities which their predecessors had abjured, and were far more treacherous and sanguinary. Thus Sultan Kooli Kootb Shah having repeatedly, but in vain, attempted to storm the strong hill-fort of Nulgonda, at length sent a flag of truce to the commandant, Rajah Hari Chandra, promising to withdraw the troops if he would consent to become tributary to Golconda, but threatening, in the event of refusal, to procure reinforcements, destroy the neighbouring towns, devastate the country, and thus reduce the place by cutting off its supplies, in which case he would not spare the life even of an infant in the garrison. The Rajah having consented, the king remarked that as Nulgonda was the only hill-fort which had successfully resisted him, he should like to see it, and therefore desired to be allowed to enter with a few attendants. The request being granted, Kooli, having instructed his body-guard, (whom, to disarm suspicion, he had left in the town below,) how to act ascended the hill with four chosen soldiers in complete armour. On entering the gate-way he drew his sword and cut down one sentinel, while his companions, attacking the others, held possession until their comrades came rushing to their assistance, and the whole army soon poured into the fortress. "Neither man, woman, or child was spared on this occasion. The Rajah, on being made prisoner, was confined in an iron cage, and eventually put to death." Such are the words in which the Mohammedan historian concludes the account of this abominable transaction.*

The author of it was eventually the victim of domestic treachery, being assassinated in his ninetieth year, A.D. 1543, at the instigation of his son, Jamsheed, who, having put out the eyes of his elder brother, the heir apparent, ascended the throne. Wars were carried on with their Moslem rivals in a spirit less perfidious perhaps, but scarcely less ferocious. Thus it is recorded that Ibrahim Kootb Shah, when at war with Ali Adil Shah, detached a force of 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot to make nightly attacks on the enemy. "The Munewar infantry were eminently successful in all directions, and at all hours, bringing nightly between 300 and 400 noses and ears from the enemy's lines; and they received for each nose a hoon, and for each ear a purtab [star pagoda.] Meanwhile, the king, by whose orders these atrocities were being committed, "had ordered pavilions to be pitched on the bastions [of Golconda], and adorned them with rich brocades and silks from China, and with velvets of European manufacture, giving himself up to the gratification of listening to the enchanting vocal and instrumental music of heart-alluring damsels and fairy-faced virgins."† Truly it is as reasonable to expect the shrill cry of human suffering to pierce "the dull cold ear of death," as to touch a heart turned into stone by sensuality.

Mohammed Kooli, the fifth of the Kootb Shah kings, began to reign A.D. 1580. He removed the seat of government to a neighbouring site, where he built a magnificent city called Bhagnuggur,‡ in honour of Bhagmuttee, his favourite mistress, a public singer, for whom 1,000 cavalry were assigned as an escort. After her death the name was changed to Hyderabad. In this reign fierce struggles took place between the Deccanies and the Moguls, as the foreigners of whatever denomination came to be called. The disorderly conduct of some of the latter caused the issuing of a proclamation commanding all aliens, whether Patans, Persians, Arabs, Tartars or others, who had no fixed employment, to quit Hyderabad. The Deccanies construing this order into a permission to plunder their old foes at pleasure, deserted their occupations and hastened to rifle the warehouses of the wealthy merchants, of whom many were killed in defending their property. The riots grew to an alarming height, but the king was sleeping, and none of the servants dared disturb the royal slumbers, until one of the ministers had

* See Briggs' *Appendix to History of Kings of Golconda*, translated from the Persian of a contemporary of Ferishta's, vol iii. p. 374. † *Idem*, p. 431.

‡ The Hindoos still call it Bhagnuggur.

the courage to break open the door, and having with great difficulty aroused the monarch, bade him observe from the palace-windows the state of the city. The measures adopted were in the true spirit of oriental despotism. The cutwal (chief magistrate) through whose representations the sentence of banishment had been procured, was directed to put an immediate stop to the disturbances, on peril of being trodden to death by elephants. Many of the rioters were executed, "and by way of satisfying the minds of the people, several minor police-officers, who had been most active, were beheaded or hanged, or flayed alive, while others were maimed by the loss of limbs, and exhibited through the city in this mutilated state as examples."*

The Imad Shah dynasty of Berar was founded about 1484, by the descendant of a Hindoo of Canara, captured when a child, and educated as a Mussulman, by the governor of Berar. This small kingdom extended from the Injadri hills to the Godavery, and bordered Ahmednuggur and Candeish on the west. Very little is known of its history, except from its wars with neighbouring states. Boorhan, the fourth and last of his line, ascended the throne while yet a child, about the year 1560. The regent, Tufal Khan, imprisoned the young king and seized the crown, relying upon the protection of Murtezza Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur, who, false to both parties, having obtained possession of Boorhan and his rebellious minister, caused them to be put to death, and annexed Berar to his own dominions, A.D. 1572.

The Bareed Shah Dynasty at Beder, commenced in 1498. The territories of these kings were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction uncertain. Ameer II. was reigning in 1609, when Ferishta closed that part of his history. Having thus shown the fate of the five Mohammedan principalities formed from the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom, it becomes necessary to sketch the leading characteristics of the other states which succeeded in establishing their independence of Delhi during the feeble reign of Mahmood Toghlak, of which the chief were Guzerat, Malwa and Candeish.

The kings of Guzerat ruled the territory still called by this name; bounded on the north and north-east by a hilly tract connecting the Aravulli mountains with the Vindya chain, and on the south by the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, forming a peninsula then termed Surashtra, now Katiwar. The founder of the dynasty was Mozuffer, the son of a Rajpoot, who had embraced Islamism, and become conspicuous for his enmity to all who still held the creed which he had renounced. The king of Delhi having been informed that the existing governor of Guzerat was endeavouring to establish himself as an independent ruler by gaining the affections of the Hindoos, sent Mozuffer Khan to supersede him; which, after some opposition on the part of the Hindoos, he succeeded in doing, and by the permission of the Delhi monarch assumed the white umbrella or canopy, and the scarlet pavilion, considered as exclusive appurtenances of royalty. When he took the title of Shah does not appear, but his reign really commenced with his government, A.D. 1391. At first his sway extended over only a portion of the fertile plain, about sixty miles in depth, which stretches along the sea. On the north-west were the independent rajahs of Jhalor and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied tribute, as also from the Rajpoot prince of Idur, in the western part of the hills, while the rugged forest tracts were generally retained by the mountain tribes of Bheels and Coolies; among whom some Rajpoot chiefs, mostly connected with Mewar, had also founded petty principalities. The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindoo tribes, who probably paid tribute so long as a power existed capable of its enforcement. All these small states preserved their existence under the kings of Guzerat, the Mogul emperors, and during many years of British ascendancy. Of the plain which formed the Guzerat kingdom at the accession of Mozuffer, the eastern portion belonged to an independent rajah, who resided in the hill-fort of Champaneer, and their dominions stretched along the sea to the south-east, so as to include the city of Surat, and some further country in the same direction.

It would occupy space which could be ill-spared to narrate in detail the varying fortunes of this dynasty in their wars with Malwa, their Hindoo neighbours, and the Rajpoot kingdom of Mewar, from the accession of Mozuffer I. to that of the puppet set up by a faction under the title of Mozuffer III., in A.D. 1561, when the kingdom was partitioned among the conspirators. One striking characteristic in their incessant strife with the Hindoos, was the cruel bigotry which marked their conduct, far exceed-

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii., p. 478.

ing that displayed by the Delhi usurpers. It may be perhaps that the proceedings of the latter sovereigns are purposely placed in the least unfavourable light, but this scarcely accounts for the difference, since, in both cases, the annals are furnished solely by Mohammedan pens. Ferishta, although his history bears internal evidence of the honesty and ability of the writer, was yet compelled to depend in great measure on the compilations of his fellow-believers; and his ignorance of the language of the Hindoos would greatly hinder his obtaining information from whatever records they might possess, even if the inveterate prejudices of his creed had not taught him to shun with contempt and aversion the thought of gaining information from so defiled a source.

In 1402 the port of Diu was seized by Mozuffer I. from the Rajah of Idur, who had been driven from his capital, and forced to take refuge there. We are told that "it opened its gates without offering any resistance. The garrison was, however, nearly all cut to pieces, while the Ray, with the rest of the members of the court, were trod to death by elephants." The next king, Ahmed Shah, A.D. 1412, though a zealous Mussulman very diligent in destroying temples and building mosques, yet showed more favour to the natives than his predecessor had done, and Hindoo names appear among those of the government officers and nobility — an innovation which had long been opposed. Ahmed built the fortified town of Ahmednuggur, as a check on the Rajah of Idur (the successor of the prince slain by Mozuffer), and founded Ahmedabad, thenceforth his capital, and still one of the principal cities in India. This king introduced the practice of paying the soldiers one-half in money, and the other by a grant of land, with a view of inducing them to take an interest in the cultivation and protection of the province.* Mahmood Shah I. reigned for fifty-two years (1459 to 1511), and warred alike with Moslems and with the Indian and European idolaters, the latter term being used to designate the Portuguese. He obtained the surname of Begarra,† by the reduction of Girnar or Junaghar‡ and of Champaneer—two hill-forts, situated the one on the west, and the other on the east, of his dominions, and both until that time deemed impregnable.§ His maritime exploits were re-

* Bird's *Gujarât*, p. 191.

† Signifying, in the Guzerat language, two forts.

‡ According to Ferishta nearly 1,900 years had elapsed since this fortress had come into the possession of the rajah, who held it when Mahmood first marched against it in 1469; and whose title, *Mandulik*, here used by Ferishta for the first time, implies petty chieftain, a term originally applied to officers of some greater state, but often retained by rulers who had acquired or inherited an independent sway. A body of Rajpoots occupying an important defile were surprised by Mahmood. The troops then passed on unopposed, till on reaching the foot of the hill they were met by the rajah, who, being defeated and severely wounded, sooner than sustain a siege purchased a cessation of hostilities by the payment of a large amount in jewels and in specie. In the following year, "the king, who only wanted some excuse to invade Girnar a second time, urged as a complaint against the rajah, his habit of assuming the ensigns of royalty." On this plea, in itself a gross insult to the high-born Hindoo, forty thousand horse were sent to exact from him a heavy fine, which having obtained, Mahmood distributed in one night, amongst a set of female dancers; and at the latter end of the same year appeared in person before Girnar. "The rajah declared his willingness to pay any sum of money he could produce, to protect his subjects from the oppression and horrors of war." Mahmood would enter into no terms, but sat down before the place, starved the garrison into subjection, and succeeded in acquiring possession. The expelled rajah, it is said, from conviction, but more probably to save his life, embraced Islamism, a faith against which the covetousness and fraud practised towards him by its professors were sufficient to have inspired a deep-rooted prejudice.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 55.)

§ Champaneer was not captured till 1483. The rajah, Beni Ray, sent ambassadors offering two elephant-loads of gold to procure the departure of Mahmood, who had arrived at the head of a powerful force; but, finding all endeavours at conciliation useless, he sallied forth, and after many attempts succeeded in compelling the invader to raise the siege, and then led his troops to attack him. In the sanguinary battle which followed, the flower of the Hindoo force was slain, but a compact body of 12,000 men retreated in order to the fort. Mahmood continued to construct trenches and mines, and caused a mosque to be built in the lines, in order to convince his troops of his determination not to be wearied out by the prolonged defence, but no decided advantage was gained until it was discovered that the Rajpoots left the place every morning through a sally-port to perform their ablutions. Watching their opportunity, a chosen band waited close to the walls at day-break, and succeeded in rushing into the place, while another party, under Malek Eiaz, (the famous admiral who engaged the Portuguese fleet, off Choul,) escaladed the western wall, where a breach had been newly made, and got possession of the main gate. The Rajpoots finding the king rejected all terms of surrender, burned their wives and children on a funeral pile, together with their costliest effects, and then, having bathed, perished on the swords of their cruel foes, who likewise suffered severely. Beni Ray and his prime minister, crippled by wounds, were captured, and brought into the presence of Mahmood, who, on asking the former why he had held out so long against an overwhelming force, was reminded of the

markable. He took the islands of Jegat and Beet, then, as now, nests of pirates; despatched a sea and land force against Bombay; and sent a large fleet of vessels, mounting guns, under Eiaz, to co-operate with the twelve ships equipped by the Mameluk Sultan of Egypt, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay. In the first action the combined forces were successful, but were subsequently defeated near Diu, and the Mameluk portion annihilated. Fleets were, however, still despatched by the Mamelukes to the Indian seas, and the Turks, after their conquest of Egypt, continued the practice, with a view to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, but apparently without entertaining any idea of forming settlements in India.

Mahmood Begarra attained an unenviable European celebrity by the marvellous accounts of travellers, who described his personal appearance as terrific; and declared his system to have been so impregnated with the mortal poisons, on which he habitually fed, that although he had by some means or other contrived to neutralize their effect on his own vital powers, he had only, after chewing betel, to breathe upon any courtier who had offended him, and death infallibly ensued. If a fly settled on him, it instantly dropped lifeless.*

Bahadur Shah, A.D. 1526, (before mentioned as the opponent of Humayun,) with the aid of Rana Rattan Sing, made war upon Mahmood, king of Malwa, who had intrigued against them both. Mahmood was captured and put to death, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat. Raiseen, a strong hill-fort, Bhilsa and other places in the west of Malwa together with Oojein, remained in the possession of Silhuddi; a Rajpoot who had risen under Mahmood to power, but whose son, Bopat Rai, was in the service of Bahadur, by whose invitation Silhuddi came to visit the royal camp. He was treacherously seized, and Oojein taken by surprise. Raiseen held out under his brother Lokmun, but was at length reduced, both Silhuddi and Lokmun being slain at its capture.†

In his dealings with the Portuguese, Bahadur was less fortunate. Having entered into negotiations with them for their aid, and among other things conceded in return permission for the erection of a factory at Surat, he found them surrounding the building with a wall and, in effect, rendering it a strong fortification. This seems to have first roused suspicions, and treachery is alleged to have been meditated by both parties. The result has been already stated, Bahadur perished in an affray which arose on his visiting the ship where Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, had allured him on the plea of sickness, A.D. 1537.‡

The fort of Surat is said by Ferishta to have been completed during the reign of Mahmood III. (1538 to 1553), but the Persian characters inserted over the old gate—"Against the bosom and lives, the ambition and rapacity of the Portuguese, be this fabric an effectual bulwark," when numerically viewed, give 1530 as the date of its erection.§ This king was assassinated by his chaplain, named Boorhan, whose revenge he had excited, by sentencing him, for some offence not re-

hereditary right by which the territory had been held, and the long line of noble ancestors through which his name with honour had descended. This fearless reply for the moment raised a feeling of admiration in the selfish victor, and he ordered Beni Ray and his faithful companion to be treated with respect and attention. On recovering from their wounds, they both persisted in refusing to abjure their religion, and were therefore confined separately, and treated harshly, which, as might have been foreseen, only served to confirm their previous determination. "At length the king, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death."—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 70.)

* *Bartema and Barbosa* (Ramusio, vol. i., pp. 147—296.) Mahmood Begarra is the original of Butler's *Prince of Cambay*, whose—

"——— daily food
Is asp, and basilisk and toad."

† The king feared to storm the fort, knowing that in the seraglio were many Mohammedan females, who would, in the event of his success, be burnt alive with their Rajpoot companions, for whom, of course, as infidels, no compassion could possibly be entertained. Silhuddi consented to abjure his creed, and was sent to escort the females of his family from the fort, but on arriving there, his wife (the daughter of Rana Sanga) bitterly reproached him and his brother for their conduct, and, setting fire to a pile with which she had caused the apartments of the females to be surrounded, sprang into the flames, and all, to the number of 700, perished. Silhuddi and Lokmun, with a hundred of their blood-relations, rushed out, and perished on the Moslem swords.

‡ One account of this transaction has been given at p. 85. I have since read the Portuguese and Mussulman statements, collated by General Briggs (*Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 132), in which each party endeavours to throw the blame upon the other, but there is little difference in the leading facts of the case, except that Bahadur, after jumping into the sea, is asserted to have been first stunned by a blow with an oar, and then dispatched with a halbert.

§ Price would place it six years earlier.—*Mahomedan History*, vol. iii., p. 726.

corded, to be built up in a mud wall with his head exposed, and left to starve. Life was nearly extinct when Mahmood passed the spot, and noticing the attempt of the wretched captive to bend his head in salutation, inspired with compassion, had him released and attended by the royal physician until he recovered. But soon after this Boorhan again fell into disgrace, and, fearing, perhaps, to be re-immured, or stimulated by ambition to attempt to seize the throne, persuaded his nephew, Dowlut, to take the opportunity afforded by his office of fumigating the long hair of the king, to assassinate him while he slept. This being done, Boorhan, by the aid of a corps called, from their qualification for enlistment, "the tiger-killers," succeeded in destroying several of the leading nobility by sending for them separately, but was at length, when intoxicated with success, slain by the vengeful swords of the survivors. A supposititious child* was next set up by a party under the name of Ahmed II., but assassinated A.D. 1561. The last and merely nominal king abdicated in favour of Akber, A.D. 1572.

Kings of Malwa.—This state became independent in 1401, under Dilawur Ghori, whose successor founded the capital, Mandu, on a rich table-land, thirty-seven miles in circumference. Wars with Mohammedan kingdoms, especially the neighbouring one of Guzerat, with the Hindoo rajahs of Chittore or Mewar, and several minor principalities, together with the usual instances of treachery and intrigue in the court and camp, and besotted sensuality in the harem, form the staple of the history of this dynasty. Mohammed Ghori, the third king, was poisoned at the instigation of his minister and brother-in-law, who ascended the throne in 1435, by the name of Sultan Mahmood Khilji. He reigned thirty-six years, of which scarcely one was suffered to pass without a campaign, "so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle."† A famous fort in Kumulmere was taken by storm after a severe struggle, and its defenders compelled to chew the calcined parts of a large marble idol,‡ representing, according to Ferishta, a ram (? a bull), as they were in the habit of doing chunam or lime between betel leaves, that they might be said to have eaten their gods. Many Rajpoots were slain, probably in consequence of their refusal to obey this command of their imperious conqueror. Some years after, Mahmood received a signal defeat from Koombho Sing, the rajah of Chittore, who erected, in commemoration of his victory, a superb column, still in existence, which Tod states to have cost nearly a million sterling.§ Mahmood unsuccessfully besieged Delhi and Beder. His internal administration would seem to have been more gentle than could have been expected, for we are told that his subjects, Hindoos as well as Moslems, "were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with one another." He took vigorous measures for the suppression of robbery, and further promoted the safety of travellers, and indeed of the people generally, by obliging the governors of the different districts to send out parties for the destruction of wild beasts, proclaiming that if after a period of two years a human being should be seized by them, he would hold the governor responsible. For many years after his death wild beasts were scarce throughout the kingdom. Now the vicinity of the once famous city of Mandu, overgrown by forest trees, has again become the favourite haunt of tigers, who, in some instances, within the memory of the present generation, have been known to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. The next king, Gheias-oo-deen Khilji, A.D. 1482, was only remarkable for the extent of his seraglio, which contained 15,000 women, including 500 Turki females who stood clad in men's clothes, with bows and arrows, on his right hand; while 500 Abyssinian females kept guard with fire-arms on his left. He reigned thirty-three years, and became at last idiotic; his two sons meanwhile quarrelled about the succession, until the elder gaining the ascendancy slew the younger with all his family, and having, it is alleged, accelerated his father's death by poison, mounted the vacant throne A.D. 1500. This wretch died of a fever brought on by his own excesses, having first driven his sons into rebellion by suspicious and tyrannical conduct. One of these, Mahmood Khilji II., established himself on the throne, A.D. 1512, mainly through the assistance

* Mahmood left no lineal heir; fearing to risk the chance of rebellious children, of which frequent instances occur in Mohammedan history, he avoided the commission of infanticide by the perpetration of a yet more heinous crime.

† *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 234.

‡ The temple was filled with wood, and being set on fire, cold water was thrown on the images, causing them to break.

§ *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 762.

of Medni Ray, a Rajpoot chief, who joined him at the commencement of the struggle with a considerable body of his tribe, and whose zealous and able services rendered him so popular with the king, as to excite the hatred and jealousy of the Mussulmans. Conspiracies were formed, and after repeated failures Mahmood was at length inspired with sufficient distrust to consent to discharge all the Rajpoots holding offices at court, excepting only the obnoxious minister, and to declare that no Hindoo could be permitted to retain Mohammedan females in his seraglio. Medni Ray pleaded earnestly the tried services of his countrymen, but the weak and ungrateful king, though soothed for the time, was subsequently induced to sanction an attempt on the part of his Moslem body-guard of 200 men to waylay and murder Medni Ray, and a brave Rajpoot officer, called Salivahan, who had evinced much anger at the late unjust and humiliating proceedings. The latter was slain; the former, though covered with wounds, escaped to his own house, while a body of Rajpoots rushed to the palace, but being repulsed by the king in person, returned to the house of the minister, and entreated him to be their head. Medni Ray refused, persuaded them to disperse peaceably, and sent word to the king that if he thought his life necessary to the good of the state, he was ready to lose it, sooner than lead an army against his acknowledged sovereign. Mahmood was little affected by a degree of magnanimity quite beyond his comprehension, and fearing some treachery similar to that of which he had given the example, fled by night from the fort of Mandu, accompanied by his favourite mistress and the master of the horse, and did not draw rein till he reached the frontier of Guzerat. Though frequently at war with one another, the Moslem intruders were always ready to coalesce against a Hindoo foe; the king of Guzerat, therefore, supported Mahmood, and accompanied him at the head of a large army to Mandu, which was taken by assault after a close siege of several months, and 19,000 Rajpoots slain. Medni Ray was, however, not among them, having previously joined Rana Sanga at Chittore, from whence he retired to Chanderi, of which place he was probably hereditary chief. Mahmood proceeded thither, and found that Rana Sanga had previously marched with his whole force to the support of Medni Ray. In the conflict which ensued, Mahmood was defeated, and after evincing, in an extraordinary manner, the physical daring that invariably distinguished him in battle, contrasting strangely with his excessive moral cowardice in time of peace, was unhorsed and taken prisoner, weltering in his blood. Rana Sanga caused him to be brought to his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended on him personally, and, after his recovery, sent him back to Mandu with an escort of 1,000 horse.* This chivalrous proceeding was returned by the most glaring ingratitude, for its object did not scruple to take advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of his benefactor, to attack his son, Rattan Sing, the new ruler of Chittore. Rattan Sing applied for aid to Bahadur Shah, of Guzerat, who had also had reason to complain of the selfish rapacity of the king of Malwa. Mahmood, unable to withstand their combination, was defeated in his capital and captured by Bahadur Shah, who caused him to be confined in the fortress of Champaneer, where he was put to death, with his seven sons, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat, A.D. 1531.

Khans of Candeish.—This small principality, separated by forests from Guzerat, comprised merely the lower part of the valley of the Taptee, the upper being included in Berar.† Its first ruler, Malek Rajah, claimed descent from the Caliph Omar, and died A.D. 1399. His son, Malek Naseer, received from the king of Guzerat the title of khan, and founded the city of Boorhanpoor, near the strong hill-fort of Aseer,‡ which he had obtained by treachery from its rightful occupant, a Hindoo, of peaceable disposition, from whom he had received many personal favours. He gained possession by the same artifice used in the capture of Rohtas, viz., by entreating the unsuspecting chief to receive and shelter the inmates of his harem during a war in which he pretended to be about engaging, and then introducing soldiers in the doolies

* General Briggs here takes occasion to note the contrast between the generosity usually evinced by the Hindoos to the Moslems, and "the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter. It seldom happened that a Hindoo prince, taken in battle, was not instantly beheaded; and life was never spared but with the sacrifice of a daughter delivered up to a sort of honourable prostitution, or by the payment of vast sums of money and jewels."—(Vol. iv., p. 264.)

† Why he was named Rajah does not appear.

‡ This hill-fort, like many others in India, seems to bear witness to the pastoral pursuits of its early possessor, Aseer being considered to be a corruption of Asa Aheer, or Asa the cow-herd.—(*Idem*, p. 286.)

or palanquins, who sprang out and murdered Asa, with his whole family.

Numerous stone embankments for irrigation and other works now in ruins and buried in woods, indicate that Candeish must have once attained a high state of prosperity, but many of these are probably referrible to the previous period of Hindoo independence. Aseer or Aseerghur was taken by Akber, and Candeish re-annexed to Delhi in 1599.

The Rajpoot States.—Of these a very cursory notice must suffice, because our present information concerning them, although voluminous,* is too fragmentary to afford materials for the condensed chronological summary which can be framed with comparative ease and satisfaction from the more precise statements of Mohammedan writers respecting their own kingdoms. At the time of the invasion of Mahmood of Ghuznee, the Rajpoots were in possession of all the governments of India, nor did they resign their power without long and fierce struggles; indeed some have never been entirely subjugated, but up to the present time hold the position of feudatory chiefs (see pp. 7, 8). The table-land in the centre of Hindoostan, and the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus, formed the nucleus of Rajpoot independence; and the more broken and inaccessible the country, the better was it suited for the partly feudal, partly clannish, mode of government and warfare, adopted by its sons, from whom, though subsidies might be exacted, and forts captured by the Delhi monarchy during strong and aggressive reigns, tribute would be refused and positions regained the first opportunity. Thus Rintumbor, Gwalior, and Calinjer, were constantly changing hands; while Ajmeer and Malwa were early captured and easily retained, from their situation on the open part of the table-land, terminating in a slope of broken ground towards the Jumna.

At the time of the accession of Akber the chief Rajpoot state was that of *Mewar*, held by the descendant of the brave Rana Sanga of Oudipoor, whose family and tribe are said to have been descended from Rama, and consequently to have derived their origin from Oude, whence they removed to Guzerat, and ultimately settled at Chittore, about the eighth century of our era. There they maintained themselves, notwithstanding the accessible nature of the country—a sure retreat being ever, in case of defeat, afforded by the Aravulli mountains and the hills and forests connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerat. *Marwar*, the next state in importance, was possessed by that portion of the Rahtores, who at the taking of Canouj, A.D. 1194, had quitted the neigbourhood of the Ganges, and, under two grandsons of their last king, established themselves in the desert intermingled with fertile tracts, between the table-land and the Indus. They soon became paramount over the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, and over some small Rajpoot tribes who had preceded them as colonists; and formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the Canouj family founded the separate state of *Bikaneer*, on another part of the same desert, A.D. 1459, while the western portion was occupied by the Bhattees, under the rajah of *Jessulmer*. The rajahs of *Amber* or *Jeypoor* were ancient feudatories of *Ajmeer*, and probably remained in submission to the Mohammedans after the conquest of that kingdom. The rajahs of the tribe of Hara, who give their name to *Harauti*, were, in some sort, feudatories of the ranas of Oudipoor, and shortly before the accession of Akber, captured the famous fort of Rintumbor from the governor, who had held it for the Afghan kings. There were besides several petty states, such as the Chouhans of *Parker*, the Sodras of *Amercot* and others, situated in the extreme west of the desert, beyond the reach of Mussulman invaders; and those of *Sirohi*, *Jhalor*, &c., which, lying in the fertile tract beneath the Aravulli mountains, and on one road from Ajmeer to Guzerat, were liable to constant exactions. On the eastern slope of the table-land, *Merut*, *Gwalior*, *Narwar*, *Panna*, *Oorcha*, *Chanderi*, and other places in Bundelcund, were mostly held by old Rajpoot families, tributary to Delhi at the time of the death of Humayun.

Bengal was separated from Delhi, A.D. 1338, by the exertions of a soldier, who, having risen from the ranks, at length slew his master (the governor appointed by Mohammed Toghlak), and proclaimed himself an independent sovereign, but was in less than three years displaced by another usurper as ambitious as himself, who, within two years more, was in turn assassinated. Frequent changes of dynasty, with few important events, occupy the remaining period to the accession of the last king, Daood

* *Vide* the late Colonel Tod's extensive and valuable work on *Rajast'han*.

(David), in 1573; among the most interesting is the forcible occupation of the throne by Rajah Kans, a Hindoo zemindar,* whose son and successor voluntarily embraced the Mohammedan faith, declaring, however, his willingness to withdraw his pretensions in favour of his brother, if the chiefs desired it. At one time Bengal seems to have comprehended North Behar. It included Sundergong (Dacca). Jugnuggur (Tipperah) was tributary; Assam occasionally plundered. Cuttack and the adjoining parts were captured just before the extinction of the state. Bengal was then, as now, remarkable for the luxury of its inhabitants, whose wealthy citizens vied with one another in their display of gold plate. Sheer Shah conquered Bengal in 1539: after his death it was seized by the Afghan successors of the governor appointed from Delhi.

Juanpoor stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, on the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal and South Behar on the south-east. Khaja Jehan, the vizier at the time of Mahmood Toghlak's accession, occupied this government during the king's minority, and proclaimed its independence, A.D. 1394, which he and his successors maintained until its re-annexation to Delhi, in 1476. It was again separated after the death of Sheer Shah, and eventually conquered by Akber early in his reign.

Sinde.—Little is known of the history of this principality beyond that which has been already incidentally mentioned (p. 58). The ruling Rajpoot family appear to have become converts to Islam about 1365. They were displaced by the Arghoons, who held it at the period at which we have now arrived.

Moultan revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Timur, and was ruled by an Afghan dynasty named Langa, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Arghoons of Sinde gained possession; but were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Kamran, and Moultan was thenceforth attached to Delhi. The other provinces which had become independent at the same time (with the exception of the Punjaub, to which Secander Soor maintained his claim), were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghan government. The petty states under the Himalaya Mountains, from Cashmere inclusive, to the Bay of Bengal, were independent under sovereigns of their own; there were besides many mountain and forest tribes throughout India whose almost inaccessible retreats had preserved them from subjugation to the Moslem yoke.†

Reign of Akber.—When the death of Humayun took place, Akber was absent in the Punjaub with Behram Khan, and the fear of attempts being made to seize the throne before the heir apparent could have time to repair to the metropolis, induced such of the ministers as were on the spot, to conceal the fatal event from the public, by causing one of the Mullahs, or religious attendants of the court, to impersonate the deceased monarch, and receive from that part of the palace which overlooked the river Jumna, the salutations of the populace. At length, however, the truth transpired, but the consternation which ensued was temporarily calmed by the exertions of the nobles, one of whom read the Khotbah in the name of Akber—a proceeding equivalent to proclaiming him king.

Akber was little more than thirteen years of age, and by his own desire, as well as in accordance with the wishes of his best advisers, Behram Khan continued to hold the same position to his now crowned pupil as that in which Humayun had previously placed him—being dignified with the appellation of Khan Baba (the king's father), and invested with irresponsible sway. It was a critical epoch for the House of Timur. Several eager competitors watched an opportunity to snatch the sceptre from the youthful descendant of the foreign usurper, but in vain, for the stern and skilful soldier who had helped the father to regain it remained to guard it for the son, and that son had repeatedly evinced a degree of discretion beyond his years, and was learning to curb his own daring spirit and passion for glory, and to take large and statesmanlike views of the duties of civil government, which made some amends for his rapacity as a conqueror, and enabled him to consolidate by policy what he won by the sword.

The first contest for supremacy was waged with Hemu, who headed an army in the name of Sultan Adili, for the double pur-

* This term was originally applied to the hereditary Hindoo chiefs who had become more or less subject to Moslem rule—it was sometimes extended by the proud invaders to independent princes, like those of Oudipoor and Joudpoor, whom they affected to treat as subordinate to their government; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been used to denote persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. pp. 166—251; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., p. 947.

pose of expelling the Moguls and reducing Secander Soor, who, though driven to take refuge in the vicinity of the northern mountains, still maintained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Punjaub, in which latter place Akber and Behram Khan remained after their late victory, occupied in arranging the new government. Meanwhile, Hemu, having captured both Delhi and Agra, prepared to march to Lahore, where the tidings of his successes and approach created so much alarm that the general opinion in the camp was in favour of a retreat to Cabool, but Behram Khan's determination prevailed over more timid counsels, and the rival forces met at Paniput, where, after a desperate battle, the Moguls triumphed. The elephants, on whose number Hemu placed great dependence, became ungovernable and threw their own ranks into confusion, but Hemu, from his howdah, at the head of 4,000 horse, continued the action, until an arrow pierced his eye, and he sank back for the moment in extreme agony. His troops believing the wound mortal, gave way, but raising himself again, and plucking out the barbed weapon, together with the eye itself, Hemu endeavoured to force a path through the enemy's ranks, but was captured through the treachery of his elephant-driver, and brought before Akber, who was desired by Behram Khan to slay the infidel and thus earn the title of Ghazi.* Akber so far complied as to touch with his sword the head of his brave and almost expiring foe, and then burst into tears, upon which Behram Khan, in whose stern breast no sentiment akin to Rajpoot chivalry ever found place, drew his own sabre and beheaded him with a stroke. With Hemu, Adili lost all hope of recovering his dominions, but he continued to reign some time longer until he was killed in a battle with a new pretender in Bengal. Akber took possession of Delhi and Agra; succeeded in effecting the pacification of the Punjaub; acquired Ajmeer without a battle; and early in the fourth year of his reign had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow and the country on the Ganges as far east as Juanpoor. Notwithstanding these triumphs, the happiness of the victor was embittered by the harsh and arbitrary conduct of the Khan Baba, who attempted to enforce in a luxurious and refined court the same rigid discipline by which he had maintained subordination in an army of adventurers. The nobles were offended by his haughty and distrustful conduct, and even Akber had grave reasons for considering himself treated in a manner, which his position as king, together with his deep and lively interest in all state affairs, rendered unwarrantable. Thus, Behram took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardi Beg, an old noble, who had been one of Baber's favourite companions, had accompanied Humayun in all his wanderings, and had first read the Khotbah in the name of his successor. The ostensible reason,† was the hasty evacuation of Delhi, where Tardi Beg was governor, before the troops of Hemu; an offence that in the eyes of the warlike and inflexible minister, would have fully justified the sentence, which he might have desired to spare his young sovereign the pain of pronouncing. However this may have been, Behram is accused‡ of having, on subsequent occasions, behaved very tyrannically to all who seemed inclined to seek power and influence, except through the channel of his favour. One nobleman of high standing, having incurred his dis-

* This epithet, variously translated as "Holy Warrior," "Champion of the Faith," or "Victorious in a Holy War," is one of those expressions which can scarcely be faithfully rendered in another tongue to readers imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of its origin and use. From it arose the word *Gazette*—first employed to designate the official announcement in eastern Europe of victory, in what the combatants called religious warfare; but since applied to governmental publications of all kinds. With regard to translations of Persian, Sanscrit or other terms, and their orthography, I would again deprecate the criticism of oriental scholars, and plead the difficulty of presenting them, with any chance of correct pronunciation, without adopting a system of accentuation, which might possibly deter readers of the very class, whose sympathies I am most desirous of enlisting, the young and the unlearned. I have followed Tod, Dow, and others in avoiding the wearisome repetition of the long titles assumed by Mohammedan sovereigns, by occasionally giving, in the event of oft-recurring mention, only the first word, thus—Ala-oo-deen (glory of the faith) is sometimes adverted to as Ala only. An able and kindly critic, lieutenant-general Briggs, has pointed out the erroneous impression this practice may produce; and it therefore seems best to state at once the desire for brevity by which it was prompted.

† Jealousy of his influence was the supposed cause.

‡ The chief authority on this portion, and indeed regarding nearly the whole of Akber's reign, is Abul Fazil, whose evident unfairness and prejudice in all matters involving the character of his royal master, (to whose revision all his writings were subject), renders it difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of the circumstances which led to the rupture between Akber and Behram Khan, and the disgrace and death of the latter.

pleasure, was put to death on some slight charge, and Peir Mohammed Khan, the king's private tutor, to whom he was much attached, narrowly escaped the same fate. Akber, before he was eighteen, resolved to reign without control, and having concerted a plan with those about him, took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, whence he issued a proclamation, forbidding obedience to any orders not sanctioned by his authority. Behram sent two envoys of distinction, with assurances of submission, but Akber refused to see them, and ordered their imprisonment. After this, the disgraced minister seems to have had some intention of attempting to establish an independent principality in Malwa, but subsequently set off for Guzerat with the professed object of embarking from thence for Mecca. As he lingered long, a formal notice of dismissal arrived from Agra, commanding him to proceed on his pilgrimage forthwith. Having resigned his standards, kettle-drums, and other ensigns of authority, Behram continued his route in a private character, until, irritated by some further proceedings of Akber, he changed his mind, and attempted an invasion of the Punjaub. There, as elsewhere, the people were disposed to rally round the young king; Behram was defeated, and eventually driven to a surrender. Akber received him with much kindness, seated him on his right hand, and offered him the alternatives of an important government, a high position at court, or an honourable dismissal to Mecca. This last proposition seems to indicate that the foregoing ones were merely complimentary, and Behram probably so understood them, since he chose the pilgrimage, for which he had previously evinced little inclination, and proceeded to Guzerat, where, while preparing for embarkation, he was assassinated (A.D. 1561), by an Afghan, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humayun.

Akber, now left to his own resources, soon found that other officers were likely to prove less overbearing perhaps than his old governor, but more inclined to take advantage of his youth for their own advancement.* Always abundantly self-reliant, he checked such attempts with a firm hand. Adam Khan, an Uzbek officer, having defeated Baz Bahadur,† the Afghan ruler of Malwa, showed some disposition to retain the province for himself, upon which Akber marched immediately to the camp, and conferred the government on his old tutor, Peir Mohammed Khan, whose conduct in this position, went far to vindicate the previous harshness displayed towards him by Behram. After massacring the inhabitants of two cities, of which he had obtained possession, he was at length defeated and drowned. Baz Bahadur recovered Malwa, of which he was again deprived by the victorious Mogul, whose service he subsequently entered.

The successive steps of Akber's career can only be briefly sketched. The seven years following the disgrace of Behram were mainly employed in a severe struggle with the military aristocracy, and in repelling the pretensions advanced on behalf of the young prince Hakim, who, although an infant at the time of his father, Humayun's death, had been left in the nominal government of Cabool; but, being expelled thence by his relation, Mirza Soliman, of Badakshan, attempted to invade the Punjaub, but was driven out (1566), and subsequently returned to Cabool, of which country he

* Among these was Asuf Khan, an officer who obtained permission from Akber, A.D. 1565, to invade a small independent kingdom called Gurra Mundela, then under the government of a regent or queen-mother named Durgavati, equally celebrated for her beauty and good sense. On the approach of the Mohammedans she led her forces in person against them mounted on an elephant, but after a sharp contest being disabled by an arrow-wound in the eye, her troops disheartened, gave way, upon which, fearing to fall into the hands of the victors, she snatched a dagger from the girdle of the elephant-driver and stabbed herself. The chief place was then taken by storm, and the infant rajah trodden to death in the confusion. One thousand elephants, 100 jars of gold coins, numerous jewels, and images of gold and silver were seized by Asuf Khan, who sent to Akber only a very small portion of the spoil, and then went into rebellion, but was afterwards compelled to sue for pardon. The whole transaction was aggression, robbery, and murder from first to last, and the guilt rests as much on the head of Akber, who sanctioned the crime and shared the booty, as upon Asuf Khan, the actual perpetrator. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 128.)

† The Hindoo mistress of Baz Bahadur, celebrated equally for her beauty and poetic talent, fell into the hands of Adam Khan, and unable to strive against his importunity and threatened violence, appointed an hour to receive him, and then arrayed in costly robes, fragrant with the sweetest perfumes, lay down on a couch covered with a mantle. On the Khan's approach her attendants strove to rouse her, but she had taken poison and was already dead. (*Khafi Khan*, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 263.) Her persecutor did not long survive her, for having quarrelled with the vizier of Akber he stabbed him while at prayers, and was, by order of the king, (who was sleeping in an inner room, and rushed in, awakened by the uproar) immediately thrown from a lofty terrace-parapet, where he had sought refuge.

long retained undisturbed possession. The Mirzas, (namely, the four sons and three nephews of Sultan Mirza, a prince of the house of Tamerlane, who had come to India with Baber, but rebelled against Humayun, who pardoned and gave him the government of Sambal) revolted, and were compelled to fly to Guzerat, where they endeavoured to take advantage of the disturbed state of affairs, but were strenuously opposed by Etimad Khan, the Hindoo minister, or rather master, of the pageant king, Mozuffer III. Sooner than suffer the sceptre to be seized by the Mirzas, Etimad prompted its formal surrender to Akber, A.D. 1572, who having personally received it, proceeded to besiege Surat, where these princes had taken refuge. Before the place could be invested they departed with a light detachment, intending to join their main body in the north of Guzerat. Akber ordered 1,000 men to follow him, and set out in pursuit with such rash haste, that he found himself in front of the enemy with a party which, after waiting to allow some stragglers to come up, numbered only 150 men. He nevertheless commenced the attack, but being repulsed, took shelter in a lane formed by strong hedges of cactus, where not more than three horsemen could advance abreast. Here he was hard pressed and separated from his men, but saved by the gallantry of Rajah Bhagwandas of Amber, and his nephew and adopted son, Rajah Maun Sing, both officers of high rank in the imperial army. Soorjun Ray, Rajah of Rintumbor, is also mentioned as having evinced great bravery; and the fact of the king's being immediately surrounded by Hindoo chiefs on such an occasion, sufficiently proves the degree to which he had conciliated, and the trust which he reposed in them. The Mirzas succeeded in effecting the junction which Akber had risked so much to prevent, but were afterwards dispersed, and met with various adventures, terminating in violent deaths by the hands of Delhi officers. Though eager to put down any infringement of his own real or assumed rights, Akber utterly disregarded those of others; the establishment of unquestioned supremacy over all India being the object which he proposed from the beginning. With this view he never scrupled to foment strife, watching craftily an opportunity of turning to his own advantage the dissensions which rendered weak and effete the various independent governments, both foreign and native. Under his banner, Hindoo fought against Hindoo—Moslem against Moslem; and each against the other. Over the fiery Rajpoots his personal influence became unbounded. Skilfully availing himself of their foibles, and studious needlessly to avoid clashing with their feudal observances and associations, he won from them voluntary concessions which force had long failed to extort. As early as 1651 he had sent a strong force against Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, actuated perhaps by the recollection of the sufferings of his parents when refused protection shortly before his birth (p. 87), and captured the strong fortress of Meerta. Nagore was also taken; and both these strong-holds were conferred by Akber on the representative of the younger branch of the family, Ray Sing of Bikaneer. In 1569, Rao Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and, in conformity with the times, sent his second son with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but the disdainful bearing of "the desert king" so displeased Akber, that he presented Ray Sing with a *firmán* (imperial mandate) for the possession of Joudpoor itself, and the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after brave but fruitless resistance, was compelled to yield homage. His son and successor, well known as Moota (the fat) Rajah, gave a princess of his family in marriage to Akber (a great concession, not to say degradation, in the sight of a Rajpoot, even though the issue of this union would take equal rank with other princes of the imperial house) and, in return, received all the possessions previously wrested from Marwar, except Ajmeer, besides several rich districts in Malwa.* Rajah Bharmul, of Amber, likewise gave the king a daughter to wife,† and enrolled himself and his son, Bhagwandas, among the royal vassals, holding his country as a fief of the empire; and he also received honours and emoluments, in the shape most agreeable to a Rajpoot—increase of territory. In fact, every chief who submitted to Akber, found his personal possessions increased in consequence. One state, however, still maintained its independence, and could neither be flattered, bribed, or forced into alliance with the foreigner; it even dared to re-

* Tod says four provinces (Godwar, Oojein, Debalpoor, and Budnawar) yielding £200,000 of annual revenue were given for the hand of Jod Bae.

† Mother to Selim, Akber's successor.

nounce intermarriage with every house by which such disgrace had been sustained. Against Mewar, Akber therefore turned his arms, so soon as the disaffection of the Usbek nobles and other rebellions nearer Delhi had been put down. The Rana, Oodi Sing, unlike his brave father, Sanga, was a man of feeble character, quite unfit to head the gallant chiefs who rallied round him. On learning the approach of his formidable foe, he retreated from Chittore to the hilly and woody country north of Guzerat, leaving a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability. The place, though previously twice taken, was still regarded by the Rajpoots of Mewar as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. The operations of the siege were conducted with great care, and seem to have closely resembled those adopted in modern Europe. Two mines were sunk, and fire set to the train; one of them exploded, and the storming party crowded up the breach, but while so doing, the second explosion occurred, and destroyed many of the assailants, upon which the rest fled in confusion. The previous labours were re-commenced; considerable advantage had been gained, and the northern defences destroyed, when Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, superintending some repairs by torch-light. Taking deliberate aim, he shot him through the head, and the garrison, appalled by the death of their able leader, abandoned the breaches, and withdrew to the interior of the fort. There they assumed the saffron-coloured robes, ate the last "beera" or pân togther, and performed the other ceremonies incidental to their intended self-sacrifice. After witnessing the terrible rite of the *Johur*, in which the women, gathering round the body of Jei Mal, found refuge in the flames from pollution or captivity; the men, to the number of 8,000, ran to the ramparts, and were there slain by the Moslems who had mounted unopposed. "Akber entered Chittore, when," says Tod, "30,000 of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this *guardian of mankind.*"*

Notwithstanding the loss of his capital and many of his bravest warriors, the Rana remained independent in his fastnesses in the Aravulli; raised a small palace, around which edifices soon clustered, and formed the nucleus of the city of Oudipoor, which eventually became the capital of Mewar. He died shortly afterwards, A.D. 1572. His successor, Pertap, was in all respects his opposite. Brave, persevering, and devoted to the cause of Rajpoot independence, the recovery of Chittore was his watchword. Till this should be accomplished, he interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury—exchanged golden dishes for vessels made of leaves, and soft couches for straw pallets; and, in sign of mourning, commanded all his followers to leave their beards unshaven.† Such an adversary was not likely to be undervalued by the politic Akber, who succeeded in arraying against the patriot his kindred in faith as well as in blood, including even his own brother, Sagurji, who received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race. The odds against Pertap were fearful: driven from his strongholds of Komulmeer and Gogunda, he nevertheless withstood, for more than a quarter of a century, the combined efforts of the empire, often flying from rock to rock, feeding his wife and family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing, amid the haunts of savage beasts, his young son, Umra, the heir to his prowess and his struggles.‡ In 1576, a desperate battle occurred at the pass or

* Akber's conduct on this occasion has also left an indelible stain on his character as a patron of the arts, for the stately temples and palaces of Chittore were defaced and despoiled with the most ruthless barbarity. He showed, however, his sense of the bravery of his fallen foes by erecting at one of the chief gates of Delhi two great elephants of stone, (described by Bernier in 1663), each with their rider, one representing Jei Mal, the other Putta. The latter, the youthful head of the Jugawut clan, perished in the defence of the city, following the example of his widowed mother, who, arming her son's young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock and both fell fighting side by side. The *zinars*, (Brahmanical cords taken from the necks of the Rajpoots), are said to have amounted to seventy-four mân's and a-half; and still, in memory of this terrible destruction, the bankers of Rajast'han mark this *tilâc*, or accursed number on their seals, thereby invoking "the sin of the slaughter of Chittore" on any one who should dare to violate this mysterious but revered safeguard. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 327.

† The descendants of Pertap, though unfaithful to the spirit of this vow, still adhere to the letter, by placing leaves under their gold or silver plate, and straw beneath their couches, while their beards remain unshorn. (*Idem*, p. 333).

‡ Colonel Tod's narrative of the life of this noble Rajpoot is full of incidents of thrilling interest. So hot was the pursuit of the Mogul myrmidons that "five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of the opportunity to eat them," and his family were repeatedly on the eve of capture. On one of these occasions they were saved by the faithful Bheels of Cavah, who carried them in baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they

plain of Huldighat, where Pertap had taken up a strong position with 22,000 Rajpoots, while above, on the neighbouring cliffs and pinnacles, his trusty auxiliaries, the aboriginal Bheels, stood posted, armed with bows and arrows, and huge stones ready to roll upon the enemy. But all efforts proved vain against the overpowering Mogul force, headed by Selim, the heir of Akber, with its numerous field-artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels. Of the stalwart Rajpoots who rallied round the royal insignia,* ever seen in the hottest part of the action, 8,000 only survived it. Pertap himself, after receiving several severe wounds, was saved with difficulty, by a noble act of self-devotion. One of his chiefs (Marah), seizing the "golden sun," made his way to an intricate position, and thus drew upon himself and his vassals the brunt of the battle, while his prince, forced from the field, lived to renew the struggle, and to honour the memory of his brave deliverer by conferring on his descendants distinctions whose value a Rajpoot alone could fully appreciate.† Another generous sacrifice eventually enabled the Mewar prince, when almost driven into the abandonment of his native kingdom, to cope successfully with the Mogul force. Bhama Sah, his minister, whose ancestors had for ages held this office, placed at his disposal their accumulated resources; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, Pertap renewed the contest. The chivalrous clemency which habitually distinguishes the Rajpoot was, for once, merged in a sense of the desperate nature of his position. Komulmeer and thirty-two posts were taken by surprise, and the troops slain without mercy. To use the words of the native annalist, "Pertap made a desert of Mewar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in the plains:"‡ and in one campaign, recovered his hereditary dominions, except Chittore, Ajmeer, and Mandelgurh.

Akber, occupied by new fields of conquest, suffered Pertap to retain his territory unmolested; but the mind of the Hindoo prince could know no rest while, from the summit of the pass to Oudipoor (where, in accordance with his vow, he inhabited a lowly hut) might be seen the stately battlements of Chittore, whose re-capture, he felt, was not for him. A spirit ill at ease, accelerated the decay of a frame scarred by repeated wounds, and worn out with hardships and fatigue. His sun went down at noon; but he died (A.D. 1597) as he had lived, an unflinching patriot, enjoining on Umra and his subjects to eschew luxury, and seek, first and last, the independence of Mewar.

The manner in which this dying command was fulfilled belongs to the succeeding reign. We now return to the proceedings of Akber, who, in 1575, headed an army for the subjugation of Bengal. The Afghan ruler, Daood Khan, a weak, dissipated prince, retired before the imperial forces from Behar to Bengal Proper, upon which Akber returned to Agra, leaving his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, which proved a more difficult task than was expected. The chief commanders were Rajah Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of finance, and Rajah Maun Sing, and their efforts were at length successful. Daood was defeated and slain; and the mutinous attempts of various Mogul officers to seize the jaghires of the conquered chiefs for their private benefit, were, after many struggles, put down. The last endeavour of any importance, on the part of the Afghans, to recover the province, terminated in defeat in 1592, and being followed up by concessions of territory to the leading chiefs, the final settlement of Bengal was concluded, after fifteen years of strife and misery. While his generals were thus engaged, Akber was himself occupied in renewed hostilities with Mirza Hakim, who, after having remained long undisturbed in Cabool, again invaded the Punjaub, and assaulted the governor, Maun Sing, in Lahore. The king having raised the siege, drove his brother to the mountains and occupied Cabool; but that government was restored on the submission of the prince, who retained it until his death in 1585. The vicinity of Abdullah, Khan of the Uzbeks, who had recently seized Badakshan from Mirza Soliman, probably induced Akber, on learning the demise of Hakim, to proceed immediately to the strong fort of Attock, which he had previously erected on the principal ferry of the Indus.

guarded and fed them. Bolts and bars are still preserved in the trees about Jawura to which the cradles of the royal children of Mewar were suspended.

* The *changi*, or chief insignia of royalty in Mewar, is a sun of gold in the centre of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter.

† Such as bearing the title of Raj (royal), the privilege of enjoying "the right hand of the Mewar princes," &c., to which territorial advantages were also added by the grateful Pertap.

‡ All his loyal subjects had previously followed him to the mountains, destroying whatever property they could neither conceal nor carry away. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 347.)

Although Badakshan had been the ancient possession of his family, Akber was far too politic to stir up a quarrel with so formidable a foe as its present occupant, while, in another quarter, opportunity invited the exercise of more profitable and less dangerous, though utterly unprovoked aggression. Near at hand, nestled in the very centre of the Himalaya, above the heated plains, below the snowy heights, lay the lovely valley of Cashmere, verdant with perpetual spring. From the age of fable till the beginning of the fourteenth century, this small kingdom had been ruled by a succession of Hindoo princes, interrupted, it would appear, by a Tartar dynasty.* It then fell into the hands of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was held by princes of that religion until 1586, when the distractions prevailing among the reigning family induced Akber to brave the difficult and dangerous passes by which alone this terrestrial paradise could be approached, and send an army, under Shah Rokh Mirza, son of Mirza Soliman (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakshan), and Bhagwandas, of Jeypoor, for its conquest. These chiefs, with difficulty, penetrated through the snow by an ungnarded pass; but their supplies being exhausted, were glad to enter into a treaty with the king, Yusuf Shah, by which the supremacy of the emperor was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. Yusuf, relying on the good faith and generosity of Akber, accompanied the troops on their return to the court of that monarch, who, considering the pledge given on his behalf an inconvenient one, detained his guest, and dispatched a fresh force for the occupation of Cashmere. Yacub, the son of the captive, assembled the troops, and prepared to defend the pass; but the prevailing dissensions had extended so widely among the soldiéry, that part went over to the invaders, and the prince deemed it best to fall back with the rest on Serinuggur, where strife and rebellion were also at work. Driven thence to the hills, he continued the struggle for two years, but was at last captured and sent to Delhi, where both he and his father were induced by Akber to enter his service, and accept large jaghires in Behar. From this time, Cashmere became the favourite summer retreat of the Mogul rulers.

The imperial arms were next directed against the Eusofzeis and other Afghan tribes inhabiting the hilly countries round the plain of Peshawer, among whom a powerful party had been established by Bayezeed, a false prophet, who founded a sect, self-styled Roushenia, or the enlightened, and declared his followers justified in seizing on the lands and property of all who refused to believe in his divine mission. The impostor was defeated and slain, but his sons bore about his bones in an ark, and the youngest, Jelala, became formidable from his energy and ambition, and succeeded in gaining repeated advantages over the Delhi troops, many of whom perished, including Rajah Beer Bal, one of Akber's favourite generals. In 1600, Jelala obtained possession of the city of Ghuznee, but was eventually expelled and slain. The religious war was continued by his successors during the two next reigns (those of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan); and when the errors of the Roushenias became exploded, the Eusofzeis, who had long renounced their doctrines, continued to maintain hostilities with the house of Timur, and afterwards with the kings of Persia and Cabool, preserving throughout their turbulent independence undiminished.

Sinde was captured in 1592, its ruler, on submission, being, according to the policy of Akber, enrolled among the nobles of the empire; and Candahar, which had been seized by Shah Tahmasp soon after the death of Humayun, was recovered without a blow, in 1594, owing to the disorders which marked the early part of the reign of his successor, Shah Abbas. By this last acquisition, Akber completed the possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war with the Afghans being confined to the mountains) at nearly the same period at which he concluded the conquest of Hindoostan Proper. Excepting only Oudipoor and its gallant rana, with his immediate retainers, the other Rajpoot states of any im-

* Professor H. H. Wilson considers it to have existed either under the name of Caspapyrus or Abisarus as early as the days of Herodotus and Alexander.—*Essay on the Raj Taringi, or Hindoo History of Cashmere—Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 82. This work was executed by four different persons, the first of whom wrote in 1148, but frequent and precise references are made to earlier writers. The facts and dates become consistent as they approach A.D. 600, and from that period to the termination of the history, with the conquest of the kingdom by Akber, the chronology is accurate. Much interesting matter occurs incidentally, regarding Buddhism and Brahminism, (the former having been very early introduced into Cashmere), and also respecting the ancient worship of the Nagas or Snake Gods.

portance all acknowledged Mogul supremacy, and their chiefs had become changed from jealous tributaries to active auxiliaries.

The Deccan now became the theatre for Akber's aggression, to which its perturbed condition offered every facility. After two years spent by his son, Prince Morad, and other generals, during which time Ahmednuggur was besieged and nobly defended by the Sultana Chand, Akber proceeded in person to the scene of action, where Berar had already been surrendered on behalf of the king of Ahmednuggur. The conquest of Candeish was completed by the reduction of the strong fortress of Aseerghur, in 1599, and Prince Danial made vieeroy of the new provinces, with Mirza Khan (the son of Behram, who had reeeived the title of Khan Khanan, formerly bestowed by Humayun on his ill-fated father) as his confidential adviser. Prince Danial took to wife the daughter of Ibrahim II., of Beejapoor, who, like the neighbouring king of Golconda, had depreeated, by presents and embassies, the anger of the powerful Mogul for having sided against his generals in the contest with Ahmednuggur.† These endeavours would probably have proved fruitless, as many similar ones had done, but for the hurried and compulsory return of Akber to Hindoostan, owing to the misconduct of his eldest son and acknowledged heir. Selim was now above thirty years of age, and not deficient in natural ability; but his intellect had been impaired and his heart depraved by the excessive use of wine and opium. Taking possession of Allahabad, he made himself master of Oude and Behar, seized upon treasure amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), and assumed the title of king. These pretensions were speedily withdrawn on the appearance of Akber, who behaved with extreme moderation; but his ungrateful son, while expressing submission and fidelity, took an opportunity of revenging his own supposed injuries, and inflicting a severe blow on the feelings of his father, by instigating the assassination of Abul Fazil, whom he both feared and hated. An ambuscade was laid near Gwalior by Nursing Deo Rajah of Oorcha, and Abul Fazil, after a brave defence, was slain with most of his attendants, A.D. 1602. Akber was greatly distressed by the loss of his friend and counsellor. He spent two days without food or sleep, and sent a force against Nursing Deo, with orders to seize his innocent family, ravage his country, and exercise other unwarrantable severities; but the intended vietim succeeded in eluding pursuit, and was subsequently raised to high honour on the accession of Selim to the throne.

Akber would not publicly recognise his son's share in the crime;‡ but, on the contrary, conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments, and other marks of the highest distinction. But all in vain. Selim became daily more brutal and debauched, until at last, the public quarrels between him and his son, Khosru (himself a violent-tempered youth) grew to such a height, that Khosru's mother (the sister of Maun Sing), in a moment of grief and despair, swallowed poison; after which, her husband became so cruel and irascible, that Akber thought it neeessary to plaee him under temporary restraint. He was no sooner released than his jealousy of his son (whom he believed, and probably not without reason, desired to supplant him in the succession to the throne) occasioned new scenes of disorder. Meanwhile Khosru himself was, beyond measure, envious of his younger brother, Khoorum (Shah Jehan), who was equally a favourite with both his father and grandfather. While affairs at home were in this unsatisfactory state intelligence arrived of the decease of prinee Danial. Morad had died some years before, now this other son, Selim's only remaining brother, was taken from Akber, under circumstances calculated to embitter the bereavement. Intemperance had laid fast hold on its victim, and though so surrounded by the faithful servants of his father as to be unable openly to gratify its solicitations, he found means to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and by unrestrained indulgence soon terminated his existence at the age of thirty (April 1605.)

* With this fortress, ten years' provisions and countless treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was supposed to have employed magical arts.

† The chief of Sinde is said to have employed Portuguese officers in his defence against Akber, and to have had 200 natives dressed as Europeans, who were consequently the earliest *sepoys*. He had also a fort defended by an Arab garrison, "the first instance," says Mr. Elphinstone, "in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries afterwards so much esteemed." Vol. ii. p. 297.)

‡ Selim, in his *Memoirs*, openly acknowledges the crime and vindicates it on the plea of Abul Fazil's having induced his father to disbelieve in the Koran. For this reason, he says, "I employed the man who killed Abul Fazil and brought his head to me; and for this it was that I incurred my father's deep displeasure."—Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 33.

Alas for Akber! he was now about sixty-three, and had probably anticipated that an old age of peace and honour might crown a youth of vicissitude and daring adventure, and a manhood of brilliant success. His foes were either silent in the grave, or had been won by politic liberality to a cheerful acknowledgment of his supremacy; and the able system of civil government framed by the aid of the gifted brothers, Abul Fazil and Feizi,* and founded on a careful consideration of the customs and opinions of the Hindoos, had won from the mass of the people a degree of cordial and grateful support which none of the "Great Moguls" before or after Akber ever acquired or even strove for. A total disbeliever in revealed religion,† he had found no difficulty in sanctioning the free exercise of all creeds, and in humouring national vanity, or courting sectarian prejudice whenever it suited his object, and it was always his object to be popular. To the Brahmin, the Buddhist, the Parsee,‡ the Jew and the Roman catholic,§ the emperor listened with courteous deference; and his legislative ability, personal daring, and suavity of manner, won golden opinions from multitudes who cared not to

* Their father, a learned man, named Mobarik, was expelled from his situation as college-tutor at Agra for latitudinarian if not atheistical opinions, which his sons, though professing Moslems, evidently shared. Feizi diligently applied himself to the study of Sanscrit, as did several of the most distinguished men of Akber's court, through which a taste for literature was widely diffused. Feizi was presented to Akber in the twelfth year of his reign, and introduced Abul Fazil six years later, and they jointly became the intimate friends and confidants of their sovereign, who survived them both. An account of the death of Feizi has been recorded by a personal friend but a zealous Mussulman (Abdul Kader), and therefore it may be highly coloured, but, according to him, this celebrated scholar died blaspheming, with distorted features and blackened lips, but of what malady does not appear.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 320.)

† "The religion of Akber," says Mr. Elphinstone, (who, by the aid of a manuscript translation of the *Akbernameh*, has obtained information otherwise accessible only to oriental scholars,) "was pure deism. * * * His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason."—(Vol. ii., p. 322.) This free-thinking did not however interfere with his alleged right as "head of the church, [? what church] to decide all disputes among its members," nor prevent him from introducing a new confession of faith, declaring that "there was no God but God, and *Akber was his caliph*."—(p. 324.) The practices of spiritual instructors of different denominations he did not scruple to adopt, and Abul Fazil, who wrote under his immediate supervision, makes repeated mention of the supernatural endowments which he habitually and publicly exercised, and of the "numerous miracles which he performed." Among the many superstitious modes used in seeking "success in business, restoration of health, birth of a son," &c., a favourite method adopted "by men of all nations and ranks," was to "invocate his majesty," to whom, on the obtainment of their wishes, they brought the offerings which they had vowed. "Not a day passes," says Abul Fazil, "but people bring cups of water to the palace, beseeching him to breathe upon them. He who is privy to the secrets of heaven reads the decrees of fate, and if tidings of hope are received, takes the water from the supplicant, places it in the sun's rays, and then having bestowed upon it his auspicious breath, returns it. Also many, whose diseases are deemed incurable, intreat him to breathe upon them, and are thereby restored to health."—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 665.)

Had Akber lived in the middle of the nineteenth century he would have taken a peculiar interest in mesmerism, spirit-rapping, and table-turning.

‡ To the customs of this sect Akber practically inclined more than to any other, his stated times of worship being day-break, noon, and midnight. "His majesty," Abul Fazil adds, "has also a great veneration for fire in general, and for lamps, since they are to be accounted rays of the greater light."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 160.)

§ Akber appears to have played upon the credulity of the priests sent from Goa in a manner which they have described with much *naïveté*, though no Protestant can read their account without pain and indignation at the thought of the pure and life-giving faith of the meek and lowly Redeemer being presented to the imperial sceptic, under a form so little likely to win respectful attention. He had expressed a wish to see their chapel, which they dressed up for the occasion with every kind of ornament they could borrow from the Hindoos or any other quarter, and Akber declared himself dazzled with the result, and exclaimed that "no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity;" a speech which, considering the enormous wealth in gold and gems he must have heard of, if not witnessed, in the idolatrous temples of Hindoostan, would seem little better than a cutting sarcasm. He had on a previous occasion prostrated himself before a representation of the crucifixion, "but his chief emotion was excited on viewing a finely-painted and ornamented image of the Virgin. He gazed on it long in admiration, and declared that she appeared indeed the Queen of Heaven seated on her throne." The friars began to entertain great hopes of his conversion, but soon found that he persisted in "holding himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." One of his courtiers suffered it to transpire that the sole aim of the monarch in listening to the missionaries was "curiosity and amusement," and this was confirmed soon afterwards by Akber's gravely proposing to them, as a means of deciding between their assertions and those of the Mohammedans, that a famous Mullah should leap into a furnace with the Koran in his hand, followed by one of the friars bearing a Bible. He promised that the Mullah should leap in first, hinting that he would not at all regret to see him fall a sacrifice to his presumption; but the friars refused the ordeal, and not feeling "much at ease in the Mogul court, soon solicited and obtained permission to return to Goa."—(Murray's *Account of Discoveries*, vol. ii., p. 92.)

search out the selfishness which was the hidden main-spring of every project, whether ostensibly for the promotion of external aggression or internal prosperity. But now the season for rest had arrived, and he might hope to enjoy the wide-spread dominion and almost inealculable wealth, which a clever head and a sharp sword had combined to win. His strongly-built and handsome frame* had escaped almost unscathed from the dangers and fatigues of the battle-field, the toilsome march, the onslaught of wild beasts, and the weapon of the assassin. All had failed to dispirit or unnerve him, and the conduct of an intricate campaign, or the pressure of civil government (a far more difficult undertaking for one who had to make laws as well as superintend their execution), never absorbed the time and energy necessary to the active part which he loved to bear in mental or bodily exercises of all descriptions, from philosophical discussions to elephant and tiger hunts, animal fights, feats of jugglers, and other strangely varied diversions. Though in youth given to indulgence in the luxuries of the table, in later life he became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, amounting altogether to nearly a quarter of the year. There is, however, reason to believe that, like his father and grandfather, he was addicted to the inordinate use of opium,† an insiduous vice which would partially account for the criminal excesses in another respect attributed to him by Hindoo authorities,‡ and which, however notorious, would unquestionably have been passed over in silence by so fulsome a panegyrist and determined a partisan as Abul Fazil. Regarding the cause of his death, Hindoo records likewise cast a dark cloud,§ to which Mr. Elphinstone makes no allusion, but simply notes the total loss of appetite and prostration of strength which were the chief symptoms of the fatal disease. In truth, the disgraceful nature of his recent domestic afflictions, and the cabals and struggles respecting the succession, (which raged so fiercely that his only son was with difficulty induced to attend his dying bed,) were alone sufficient to bring a proud and sensitive spirit with sorrow to the grave.

Akber expired in October, 1605, having been for nearly the whole forty-nine years of his reign a contemporary ruler with Elizabeth of England, whose enterprise had prepared an embassy (sent by her successor) to solicit from him the promotion of the peaceful pursuits of commerce between their subjects. How little could these mighty ones of the earth have foreseen that the sceptre of Akber would eventually fall from the feeble grasp of his weak and vicious descendants, into the hands of the struggling community of traders, for whose protection an imperial firman was at first so humbly solicited. These marvellous changes teach great lessons. May we but profit by them.

* "My father," says Jehangeer, "was tall in stature, of a ruddy, or wheaten, or nut-brown complexion; his eyes and eyebrows dark, the latter running across into each other. Handsome in his exterior he had the strength of a lion, which was indicated by the extraordinary breadth of his chest and the length of his arms." A black mole on his nose was pronounced by physiognomists a sure prognostication of extraordinary good fortune.—(Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 45.)

† Ferishta mentions that Akber was taken dangerously ill about 1582, "and as his majesty had adopted the habit of eating opium as Humayun his father had done before him, people became apprehensive on his account."—(Vol. ii., p. 253.)

‡ Abul Fazil states that to the Noroza, or ninth day of each month, Akber gave the name of Khusroz, or day of diversion, and caused a female market or sort of royal fair, to be held and frequented by the ladies of the harem and others of distinction, going himself in disguise to learn the value of different kinds of merchandize, and what was thought of the government and its executive officers.—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 228.) Tod attributes the presence of Akber to a different and most disgraceful motive, and says, that however incredible it may seem, that so keen-sighted a statesman should have risked his power and popularity by introducing an immoral festival of Scythic origin, peculiarly opposed to the sensitive honour of the Rajpoots, "yet there is nevertheless not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the Noroza," and one of the highest in the court (Pirthi Raj) was only preserved from being of the number by the courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Mewar, who, having become separated from her companions, found herself alone with Akber, in return to whose solicitations she "drew a poinard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating and making him repeat, an oath of renunciation of such infamy to all her race." The wife of Ray Sing is said to have been less fortunate or less virtuous.—(*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 345.)

§ "The Boondi records," says Tod, "are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns." They expressly state that a desire to be rid of the great Rajah Maun Sing of Jeypoor, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akber to prepare a *maajún* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned—but presenting by mistake the innocuous portion to the Rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Sing had excited the displeasure of both Akber and Selim, by seconding the pretensions of his nephew, Khosru to the throne. Old European writers attribute the death of Akber to a similar cause.

At the period of Akber's death the empire was divided into fifteen subahs or provinces, namely, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Guzerat, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabool, Lahore, Moultan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. Each had its own viceroy (*sepah sillar*),* who exercised complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the king. Under him were the revenue functionaries, and also the *foujdars*, or military commanders, whose authority extended alike over the regular troops and local soldiery or militia within their districts. Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named *meer adel* (lord justice) and a *cazi*. The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the *cutwal;* in smaller places, under the revenue officer; and in villages, under the internal authorities.†

The revenue system, by which Akber gained so much celebrity, had, in fact, been partially introduced during the brief reign of Sheer Shah. Its objects were—*First*, to obtain a correct measurement of the land, by the establishment of a uniform standard, to supersede the differing measures formerly employed even by public officers; and by the appointment of fit persons, provided with improved instruments of mensuration, to furnish accounts of all cultivable lands within the empire. *Second*, the land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a begah‡ would yield was ascertained, the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a begah, and one-third of that produce formed the government demand. But any cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop. *Third*, the produce was to be converted into a money payment, taken on an average of the preceding nineteen years; but, as in the previous case, every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the rate in specie fixed too high. All particulars respecting the classification and revenue of the land were annually recorded in the village registers; and as at the period of the introduction of this system Akber abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers, the pressure on individuals is said to have been lightened, though the profit to the state was increased. It should, however, be remembered that Akber claimed one-third of the produce, and Sheer Shah had professed to take but one-fourth.§ The farming of any branch of the revenue was not allowed, and the collectors were instructed to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not rely implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.

The chief agent in these reforms was Rajah Todar Mul, whose zealous observance of the fasts and other requirements of the Brahminical religion, doubtless augmented his influence among his own nation. Thus, whether in military proceedings or civil government, Akber always gladly availed himself of the abilities of the Hindoos, of whose character he unquestionably formed a very high estimate,‖ and whose good will (notwithstanding the aggression on which his interference was grounded) he greatly conciliated by three important edicts, which involved concessions to human rights, of a description rarely made by oriental despots, to whose notions of government by the sword all freedom is essentially opposed. In 1561,

* This title was subsequently changed to *subahdar*, and an additional financial officer introduced, named the *dewan*, who was subordinate to the subahdar, but appointed by the king.

† The general tone of the instructions given to these functionaries appears as just and benevolent as could well be expected under a despotism; the question is, how far they were carried out in the right spirit. There are, however, some enactments which reflect little credit on the law-giver, such as the following: "Let him (the cutwal) see that butchers, those who wash dead bodies, and others who perform unclean offices, have their dwelling separate from other men, who should avoid the society of such stony-hearted, dark-minded wretches. Whosoever drinketh out of the same cup with an executioner, let one of his hands be cut off; or if he eateth out of his kettle, deprive him of one of his fingers."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*.

‡ An Indian measure, much above half-an-acre.

§ The ancient rulers of Hindoostan, Abul Fazil admits, claimed but one-sixth.—Vol. i., p. 278.

‖ Abul Fazil, who may be taken as a fair exponent of the feelings of his royal master (in the fortieth year of whose reign he wrote), thus expresses himself on this point:—"Summarily the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity." He adds his conviction, from frequent discourses with learned Brahmins, that they "one and all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters," which latter assertion may be doubted as applied to the lower and less-informed professors of any religion which inculcates or suffers the "high veneration" of images. Lastly, he says, "they have no slaves among them," a remark to which we may have occasion to revert in a subsequent section.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii., pp. 294-'5.

a prohibition was issued against the making slaves of persons captured in war; an infamous practice, which had gained such a height that not only the innocent wives and children of garrisons taken by storm were sold into slavery, but even the peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized for the same purpose. In 1563, the jezia or capitation-tax on infidels was abolished; and about the same time all taxes on pilgrims were removed, because, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one Great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker." (*Akber Namah, MS. translation.*)

The condition of the royal slaves* was ameliorated by Akber; but it does not appear that he made any attempt to restore liberty even to those from whom it had been ravished by the glaring injustice above described. Nor would any effort of a purely just and benevolent tendency have been consistent with the character of one whose ambition filled the mountain fortresses of Hindoostan with captives,† and who scrupled not to form minarets of human heads,‡ or give orders for the complete extermination of a flying foe.§

In the regulation of the army great alterations were made: the troops, wherever it was practicable, were paid in cash from the treasury, instead of by jaghires and assignments on the revenue; and the tricks played at the musters by means of servants and camp-followers, mounted for the day on borrowed horses, prevented, by written descriptions of every man's person, and the marking of each horse. But the organization of the army was never very complete. The king named the *munsubdars*‖ or officers, as he thought fit, commanders of from 10 to 10,000 men; but these numbers, in all but the lowest classes, were merely nominal, and only served to fix the rank and pay of the holders, whose actual force, often not a tenth of their figure on paper, when mustered, was paid from the treasury. Each munsubdar was obliged to keep half as many infantry as horsemen; and of the infantry, one-fourth were required to be matchlockmen, the rest might be archers. There were also a distinct body of horsemen, called *ahdis* (single men), whose pay depended upon their merits, but was always much higher than that of the ordinary cavalry. Into every branch of the imperial arrangements, domestic as well as public, the most careful method was introduced—the mint, treasury, and armoury—the harem, with its 5,000¶ inhabitants—the kitchens,** baths, perfume offices, fruiteries, and flower-gardens, alike manifested the order-loving mind of their ruler. The department which he appears to have superintended with especial pleasure, was that comprising the various descriptions of animals, whether belonging to the class peculiarly adapted for the use and benefit of man, or to that of the savage beasts who played a leading part in the barbarous fights and shows which formed the chief popular

* The king (says Abul Fazil) disliking the word slave, desired that of *chelah* (signifying one who relies upon another) to be applied in its place. "Of these unfortunate men there are several kinds: 1st. Those who are considered as common slaves, being infidels taken in battle; and they are bought and sold. 2nd. Those who of themselves submit to bondage. 3rd. The children born of slaves. 4th. A thief who becomes the slave of the owner of the stolen goods. 5th. He who is sold for the price of blood. The daily pay of a chelah is from one dam to one rupee; they are formed into divisions, and committed to the care of skilful persons, to be instructed in various arts and occupations."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 209.

† Among the prisoners who perished by violence in the fort of Gwalior, was the only son of the unhappy Kamran. The reason does not appear; but the execution is stated by Price, on the authority of Abul Fazil, as commanded by Akber some time after the death of Kamran; and Ferishta (also apparently quoting the *Akbernameh*) says that Behram Khan was accused of intending to intrigue with the unfortunate prince; a very unlikely supposition, considering the enmity which he had ever displayed towards his father.—Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 324.

‡ Bird's *Gujarat*, p. 338.

§ "What with the examples made during the reign of my father," writes Jehangeer, "and subsequently during my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle, or by the sword of the executioner, 500,000 or 600,000 human beings have not fallen victims to [what he terms] their fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence."—(p. 128.) Allowing the narrator to have had, as was doubtless the case, the larger share in this wholesale destruction, and supposing the numbers to be overstated, there yet remains ample evidence to indicate a terrible waste of human life on the part of both monarchs.

‖ None but the king's sons were munsubdars of more than 5,000; and this latter class, according to the *Ayeen Akbery*, comprised only thirty persons.

¶ Each of whom had an apartment and a monthly stipend, "equal to her merit," of from two to 1,610 rupees, that is, from four shillings to £161.

** The emperor took but one meal a-day, for which there being no fixed time, the cooks were ordered to keep 100 dishes always in readiness to set on table at an hour's notice. "What is required for the harem," adds Abul Fazil with sly sarcasm, "is going forward from morning till night."

diversions of the age. The elephants,* dromedaries, and camels; horses and mules; oxen, buffaloes, rhinoceroses, and tame deer; lions, tigers, and panthers; hunting-leopards, hounds, and hawks;—received as much attention as if their royal master had been a veterinary surgeon: while, in the matter of tame partridges and pigeons, no schoolboy could have been a greater adept than the mighty monarch, Akber Padshah.†

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri, near Agra, built and fortified by Akber, although now deserted, presents ample evidence of having been a place, both in magnificence and architectural beauty, adapted for the abode of one of the wealthiest sovereigns the world ever knew. Respecting the amount of the treasures seized from Moslem and Hindoo palaces and temples, we have no reliable information.‡ Jehangeer asserts, that of the paraphernalia and requisites for grandeur, accumulated by Akber, "whether in treasure or splendid furniture of any description, the invincible Timur, who subdued the world, and from whom my father was eighth in descent, did not possess one-tenth." He adds, that Akber, desirous to ascertain the contents of the treasury at Agra, had 400 pairs of scales kept at work, day and night, weighing gold and jewels only. At the expiration of *five months* the work was still far from being concluded; the emperor, from some cause or other, not choosing to have it continued, had the treasures safely secured, and was content to be the master of "untold gold." In this astounding statement there would seem to be either some great mistake on the part of the copyist,§ or gross exaggeration on that of the royal autobiographer. The latter is probably in fault; for although he frequently criminates himself by confessing the commission of crimes which other writers would scarcely have ventured to attribute to him (the murder of Abul Fazil, for instance), yet his credulity and tendency to "high colouring," render much sifting necessary before receiving his assertions, and greatly enhance the value of corroborative evidence. European travellers go far to establish the probability of otherwise incredible statements regarding the enormous wealth of the Great Moguls, by their descriptions of the magnificence of the court, and also of the steady influx of gold and silver still annually received in return for silk, cotton, spices, and various products, for which coin or bullion was the chief exchange, other commodities or manufactures being taken only in comparatively small quantities.

Reign of Jehangeer.—The bier of Akber was carried through the palace-gates of Agra by Selim and his three sons, Khosru, Khoorum, and Parvaez, and borne thence to its stately mausoleum‖ at Secundra (three miles distant), by the princes and chief

* According to Abul Fazil, Akber had between 5,000 and 6,000 elephants, of whom 101 were kept for his own riding. He delighted in the exercise; and, even when in their most excited state, would place his foot on the tusk of one of these enormous creatures, and mount in an instant; or spring upon its back, from a wall, as it rushed furiously past. A fine elephant cost a lac of rupees (£10,000), had five men and a boy allotted for its service, and a stated daily allowance of rice, sugar, milk, ghee, &c., besides 300 sugar-canes per diem, during the season. Every ten elephants were superintended by an officer, whose duty it was to report daily to the emperor their exact condition—whether they ate less food than usual, or were in any way indisposed.

† On a journey or march, the court was never accompanied by less than 20,000 pigeons, with *bearers* carrying their houses. Of the quality of these birds, Abul Fazil remarks, his majesty had discovered "infallible criterions," such as twisting their feet, slitting their eyelids, or opening their nostrils.

‡ In Mandelsloe's travels (Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 762), an inventory is given of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akber at the time of his death, which that traveller states to have been furnished him by "very knowing and worthy persons," in the reign of Shah Jehan, whom he describes as possessing "eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which is inestimable." The items are interesting—in certain sorts of money coined by the express order of Akber, in another description, called Akber rupees, and in "payses [pice], sixty whereof make a crown,"—total value = 199,173,333 crowns, or about £50,000,000 sterling. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; "statues of gold, of divers creatures," 9,503,370 c.; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household-stuff, 5,866,895 c.; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 c.; brocades—gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 c.; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,772 c.; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865 c.; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 c; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows, arrows, &c., 3,777,752 c.; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 c.; coverings for elephants and horses, embroidered with gold, silver, and pearls, 2,500,000 c.; woollen cloths, 251,626 c.; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 c.; making a total (coin included) of 274,113,793 c., or £68,528,448 sterling.

§ The Persian copy of Jehangeer's *Memoirs*, translated by Major Price, was unfortunately imperfect; that from which Mr. Gladwin has borrowed largely, is considered less defective.

‖ This superb structure, begun by Akber, was finished by his successor, who declared the total cost to have been about £1,800,000. The amiable mother of Akber, Hameida, afterwards termed Miriam Mekani, had been buried only two years before in Humayun's tomb at Delhi.

nobles. Owing to the exertions made by the late sovereign on his death-bed to prevent the threatened outbreak of domestic rivalry, and to the successful negotiations entered into with Rajah Maun Sing, and other leading persons, Selim was proclaimed emperor unopposed. With undisguised delight he mounted the jewelled throne, on which such enormous sums had been lavished, and placed on his brows the twelve-pointed crown.* The chief ameers were summoned from the different provinces to attend the gorgeous and prolonged ceremonial; for forty days and nights the *nukara*, or great state-drum, sounded triumphantly; odoriferous gums were kept burning in censers of rare workmanship, and immense candles of camphorated wax, in branches of gold and silver, illumined the hours of darkness.

Considering "universal conquest the peculiar vocation of sovereign princes," the new emperor, in the coinage struck upon his accession, assumed the title of Jehangeer (conqueror of the world), and expressed a hope so to acquit himself as to justify the assumption of this high-sounding epithet. His early measures† were of a more pacific and benevolent tendency than might have been expected either from this commencement, or his general character. He confirmed most of his father's old servants in their offices; issued orders remitting some vexatious duties which existed, notwithstanding the recent reformatory measures; and desiring to give access to all classes of people who might choose to appeal to him personally, caused a gold chain to be hung between a stone pillar near the Jumna and the walls of the citadel of Agra, communicating with a string of little bells suspended in his private apartments; so that the suitor, by following the chain, would be enabled to announce his presence to the emperor without any intermediary. For this invention, Jehangeer takes great credit, and also for the interdict placed by him on the use of wine, and the regulations for that of opium; but as his own habits of nightly intoxication were notorious,‡ the severe punishment with which he visited all other offenders against the laws of strict temperance, gives little evidence of the rigid justice so repeatedly put forward in his autobiography,§ as his leading principle of action. Among his first proceedings, was the release of all prisoners throughout the empire. "From the fortress of Gwalior alone," he says, "there were set at liberty no less than 7,000 individuals, some of whom had been in confinement for forty years. Of the number discharged altogether on this occasion, some conception may be formed, when it is mentioned, that within the limits of Hindoostan there are not less than 2,400 fortresses, of name and strength, exclusive of those in the kingdom of Bengal, which surpass all reckoning."—(*Memoirs*, p. 10.)

* The crown and throne, those favourite symbols of power, with which eastern kings have ever delighted to dazzle the eyes of their subjects, were of extraordinary magnificence and beauty. The former—made by the order of Akber, in the fashion of that worn by the Persian kings—had twelve points, each surmounted by a diamond of the purest water, while the central point terminated in a single pearl of extraordinary size; the whole (including many valuable rubies) being estimated at a cost equivalent to £2,070,000 sterling. The throne, so constructed as to be easily taken to pieces and put together again, was ascended by silver steps, on the top of which four silver lions supported a canopy of pure gold, the whole adorned with jewels, to an amount, which Price translates, as equal to £30,000,000 sterling.

† One of these, most creditable to Jehangeer, involves a terrible revelation of existing evils. He ordered the governor of Bengal to take decided measures for abolishing the infamous practice, long used in Silhet and other dependencies of Bengal, of compelling the people to sell their children, or else emasculate and deliver them up to the governors of those provinces in satisfaction for their rents,—by which means some thousand eunuchs had been made yearly.—Gladwin's *Jehangeer*, p. 104.

‡ Sir Thomas Roe was occasionally admitted to the evening entertainments, when the Great Mogul, seated on a low throne, threw off all restraint, and, together with most of his companions, drank himself into a state of maudlin intoxication. A courtier once indiscreetly alluded, in public, to a dehauch of the previous night, upon which Jehangeer affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. In his *Memoirs*, he makes no secret of his habitual excesses, but says his usual allowance once reached twenty cups of spirits a-day, and that if he was a single hour without his beverage, his hands began to shake, and he was unable to sit at rest. After coming to the throne, he took for some time but five cups (little more than a quart), diluted with wine, and only after night-fall. Of opium, his daily dose, at forty-six years of age, was eight ruttees, or sixty-four grains.

§ This Autobiography resembles that of Timur in the manner in which the royal narrator boldly alleges good motives for his worst deeds, and after describing the torments and cruel deaths inflicted by him on thousands of unhappy beings, dwells, almost in the same page, on his own compassionate and loving nature, giving, as examples, the letting free of birds, deluded by the skilful murmuring of the Cashmerians into captivity; his regret for the death, by drowning, of a little boy who used to guide his elephant, and similar circumstances. In spite of its defects, the book is both valuable and interesting, as throwing much light on the customs and

Jehangeer was not long permitted to enjoy in peace his vast inheritance.* The partial reconciliation between him and Prince Khosru was little more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, marked by distrust and tyranny on the one side—sullenness and disaffection on the other. At length, some four months after his accession, the emperor was aroused at midnight with the tidings that his son had fled to Delhi, with a few attendants. A detachment was immediately sent in pursuit, and Jehangeer followed in the morning with all the force he could collect; but notwithstanding these prompt measures, Khosru succeeded in assembling upwards of 10,000 men (who subsisted by plunder), and obtained possession of Lahore. He was, however, defeated in a contest with a detachment of the royal troops; taken prisoner in a boat, which ran aground in the Hydaspes; and inless than a month, the whole rebellion was completely quashed. When brought in chains of gold into the presence of his father, Khosru, in reply to the reproaches and questions addressed to him, refused to criminate his advisers or abettors, entreating that his life might be deemed a sufficient penalty for the offences he had instigated. Jehangeer, always ready to take advantage of any plausible pretext for the exercise of his barbarous and cruel disposition, spared his son's life,† but wreaked an ample vengeance, by compelling him to witness the agonies of his friends and adherents. Some were sewn up in raw hides and exposed to a burning sun, to die in lingering tortures of several days' duration; others flayed alive; while no less than 700 were impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahore, and so long as any of these unfortunates continued to breathe, the prince was brought daily to the spot, in mock state, mounted on an elephant and preceded by a mace-bearer, who called out to him to receive the salutations of his servants. Khosru passed three days and nights without tasting food, and long remained a prey to the deepest melancholy. At the expiration of a year, Jehangeer seemed disposed to lighten his captivity by suffering his chains to be struck off, but a conspiracy for his release being subsequently detected (or invented by the partisans of Prince Khoorum), he was confined as closely as before.

In 1607, an army was despatched, under Mohabet Khan (son of Sagurji, the recreant brother of Pertap), against Umra, Rana of Oudipoor, and another under the Khan Khanan, into the Deccan; but both were unsuccessful, and the latter especially received repeated defeats from Malek Amber, who retook Ahmednuggur; and uniting to his talents for war no less ability for civil government, introduced a new revenue system into the Deccan, and obtained there equal celebrity to that acquired by Rajah Todar Mul in Hindoostan.

During these proceedings, Jehangeer was privately occupied in the criminal intrigues which resulted in his marriage with the celebrated Nour Jehan. This clever, but unprincipled woman, was the daughter of a Persian adventurer,‡ who having succeeded in gaining admittance to the service of Akber, rose to a position of trust and honour. His wife frequently visited the royal harem with her young daughter, whose attractions speedily captivated the heir-apparent. Akber being made aware of what was passing, had Nour Jehan bestowed in marriage on Sheer Afghan, a young

opinions of the age, and on the demonology, alchemy, and various superstitions in which Jehangeer was as firm a believer as his royal compeer, James I., of England, whom he resembled in another point, namely, strong dislike to tobacco (then newly introduced by the Portuguese), against which he also issued a "counterblast," in the shape of a decree, forbidding its use in Hindoostan, as Shah Abbas had previously done throughout Persia.

* Besides the treasure accumulated by his father, he received the property (amounting, in jewels alone, to £4,500,000,) which Danial had contrived to amass in the Deccan, in great measure by open violence, or, as Jehangeer mildly phrases it, by compelling people to sell to him elephants and other property, and sometimes omitting to pay for them. The 300 ladies of the prince's harem were likewise sent to the emperor; who, being somewhat puzzled how to dispose of so large an addition to his family, gave them to understand that they were, one and all, free to bestow themselves and their dowries on any of the nobles who might desire them in marriage.

† There is a passage in the *Memoirs* which indicates pretty clearly that Jehangeer would have felt little scruple in following "the distinguished example" given by "the house of Othman, who, for the stability of their royal authority, of all their sons, preserve but one, considering it expedient to destroy all the rest."—(p. 66.)

‡ Gheias was a man well born, but reduced to poverty, and driven to seek subsistence by emigrating with his wife and children to India. Directly after reaching Candahar, Nour Jehan was born; and, being worn down with fatigue and want, the miserable parents exposed the infant on a spot by which the caravan was to pass. The expedient succeeded: a rich merchant saw and took compassion on the child, relieved the distress of its parents, and, perceiving the father and eldest son to be persons of education and ability, procured for them suitable employment.

Persian, distinguished for his bravery, to whom he gave a jaghire in Bengal, whither he proceeded, accompanied by his young bride. But the matter did not end here; for Jehangeer, about a year after his accession, took occasion to intimate to Kootb-oo-deen, the viceroy of Bengal (his foster-brother), his desire to obtain possession of the object of his unhallowed passion. Endeavours were made to sound Sheer Afghan on the subject; but the high-spirited chief, at the first intimation of the designs entertained against his honour, threw up his command, and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service. After this, repeated attempts were made to assassinate him, until at length, at a compulsory interview with Kootb-oo-deen, perceiving himself entrapped, he resolved to sell his life dearly—slew the viceroy and several other officers, and at last fell himself, covered with wounds. Nour Jehan was seized and sent to court, but, either from some temporary aversion on her part to the murderer of her husband, or (for the tale is differently told) from some equally short-lived compunction on his, she was allowed to remain in the seraglio unnoticed for above four years. The passion of the emperor at length reviving, he made her his wife; bestowed on her, by an imperial edict, the title of empress; and styled her first, Nour Mahal (*the light of the harem*), and afterwards Nour Jehan (*the light of the world.*) Her influence became unbounded: beginning by a feminine desire for splendid jewels,* she soon manifested her capacity for coveting and exercising arbitrary dominion, and evinced as much energy and ambition, and as little principle as could be paralleled in many (so called) "great men." Honours never before enjoyed by the consort of any Indian potentate were lavished upon her, even to the conjunction of her name on the coin with that of Jehangeer; her father, Mirza Gheias, was made prime minister; her brother, Asuf Khan, placed in a high station; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law.

The legislative ability of Mirza Gheias produced beneficial effects in public affairs; and his modest, yet manly bearing, conciliated the nobility, who soon learned to appreciate the value of the control which he exercised over the ill-regulated mind of the emperor. Nour Jehan found employment in superintending the construction of public edifices and gardens; and by skilful management, increased the magnificence of the court and lessened the expenditure. The mode of preparing the famous otto of roses is generally attributed, in India, either to her or to her mother.

Soon after this marriage, the disturbances in Bengal, which had prevailed throughout the previous years of Jehangeer's reign, were brought to a close A.D. 1612. Malek Amber's Mahratta-like mode of warfare proved increasingly successful in the Deccan, and the imperial forces were decidedly worsted; but in Mewar, Prince Khoorum, at the head of 20,000 men, obtained the submission of Rana Umra Sing, who, after sustaining seventeen pitched battles, was at length compelled to bow to the Moguls "the crimson banner" which, for more than 800 years, had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotes. Prince Khoorum (the son of a Rajpootni) evinced affectionate respect towards his brave foe;†

* Jehangeer states that he assigned for her dowry an amount equal to £7,200,000 sterling, "which sum she requested as indispensable for the purchase of jewels, and I granted it without a murmur."—(p. 271.) He also gave her a pearl necklace, comprising forty beads, each one of great worth. These statements must, of course, be taken *quantum valeat*, and are only cited to enable the reader to form some idea of the numerous and costly jewels worn at the period: the accumulation of which had been for ages the favourite employment of the Hindoo princes, from whom they had been plundered. In evidence of the excessive desire for splendid jewels, may be noticed the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain—that one of the courtiers purchased from a merchant a large pear-shaped pearl, which he had brought with him from England, for the sum of £1,260.

† The Rajpoots have been fortunate in having had Tod for a chronicler; but they still need a Walter Scott to popularize their deeds of love and war in the eyes of those who care not to look on truth unmixed with fiction. Yet Rajpoot annals, even in the sober page of the historian, are fraught with romance and chivalry. Take one instance. During the war with Jehangeer, an opportunity occurred to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and Umra, with all his chiefs, assembled for the purpose. Two rival clans (whose feuds largely contributed to the ruin of Mewar) disputed the privilege of forming the *herole* or vanguard, and the sword would have decided the question but for the tact of the prince, who exclaimed, "The herole to the clan that first enters Ontala." Ontala was a frontier fortress, about eighteen miles east of Oudipoor, situated on rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its massy walls, round towers at intervals, and but one gate. Some hours before day-break the clans moved off to the attack; the Suktawuts arrived first, and made directly for the gateway; the Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, traversed a swamp, which retarded them; but they brought ladders, and, on arriving, their chief at once commenced the escalade. A ball struck him back lifeless among his vassals. Meanwhile, the Suktawuts were also checked; for the elephant on which

and Jehangeer himself, delighted at having obtained, by means of the valour of his favourite son, the homage of a prince whose ancestors, intrenched in their mountain strongholds, "had never beheld a king of Hindoostan, or made submission to any one," sent to the rana a friendly firman, with the "impress of his five fingers," and desired Khoorum, "by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes."* The personal attendance of Umra at the Mogul court was excused, and a similar exemption extended to the future reigning sovereigns of Mewar, the heir-apparent being received as their representative. Prince Kurrun, the son and successor of Umra, was most honourably welcomed by Jehangeer, who placed him on his right hand, above every other noble, and declared that "his countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."† Nour Jehan likewise loaded him with gifts and dignities; but the prince, feeling his newly-forged chains none the lighter for the flowers with which they were wreathed, still remained sad and humiliated, though courteous in his bearing. Umra was yet further from being reconciled to become a fief-holder of the empire. To receive the imperial firman outside his capital was the only concession demanded from him, in return for which Khoorum offered to withdraw every Moslem from Mewar. But he could not be brought to submit to the humiliation; therefore, assembling the chiefs, he made the *teeka* (the ancient symbol of sovereignty) on his son's forehead, and forthwith quitted the capital, and secluded himself in a neighbouring palace, on the borders of a lake. The stately form of Umra, "the tallest and strongest of the princes of Mewar," never again crossed the threshold until it was borne, as dust and ashes, to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers; but Prince Khoorum visited him, as a friend, in his retirement, and, in after years, had abundant reason to rejoice in the sympathy which he had manifested towards the Rajpoot princes of Oudipoor.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe arrived at court, then held at Ajmeer, as ambassador from James I. His journey from Surat, by Boorhanpoor and Chittore, lay through the Deccan, where war was raging; and the rana's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or cause for alarm, except from mountaineers, who took advantage of the disturbed state of the times to molest travellers. The emperor received him favourably, notwithstanding the opposition and intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuits, and the contrast afforded by the unpretending character of his presents‡ and retinue to the magnificent ceremonial which he daily witnessed, and in which he was permitted to take part without performing the humiliating prostration which Jehangeer, like Akber, demanded from those who approached him, despite the belief of all zealous Mohammedans, that such homage could be fitly offered to the Deity alone.

The greatest displays took place on the

their leader rode, and on whose strength he depended to force the gate, was deterred from approaching by its projecting spikes. His men were falling thick about him, when a shout from the rival clan inspired a desperate resolve. Springing to the ground, he covered the spikes with his own body, and bade the driver, on pain of instant death, propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief the clan rushed on to the combat, and, fighting with resistless energy, slaughtered the Moguls, and planted on the castle the standard of Mewar. But the herole was not for them; for the next in rank and kin, and heir to the Chondawut leader, had caught the lifeless body as it fell, and, true to his title (the mad chief of Deogurh), wrapped it in his scarf, slung it on his back, and, scaling the wall, cleared the way with his lance, until he was able to fling his burden over the parapet, shouting—"the herole to the Chondawuts! we are first in!"

* Colonel Tod mentions having seen the identical firman in the rana of Oudipoor's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood, is applied to the paper, to which the impression of the palm and five fingers is thus clearly, and even lastingly affixed.—*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 362.

† *Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 364. Tod had probably a more perfect copy of *Jehangeer's Memoirs* than that translated by Price, as he cites passages not to be found in the English version.

‡ The most acceptable of these seems to have been a coach, a mode of conveyance then newly used in England. Jehangeer had it taken to pieces by native workmen, who, having built another with more costly materials, reconstructed the pattern-one, substituting double-gilt silver nails for the originals of brass, and a lining of silver brocade instead of Chinese velvet. Some pictures, likewise, proved suitable gifts; and one of them was so accurately copied by native artists, that Roe being shown the original and five copies by candle-light, could not, without some difficulty, distinguish that which he had brought from England. Once, being much pressed for some offering wherewith to gratify Jehangeer's insatiable covetousness, he presented to him a book of maps (*Mercator's Cosmography*), with which the emperor was at first excessively delighted; but, on examination, finding the independent kingdoms there delineated somewhat too numerous to accord with his grandiloquent title, he returned the volume, saying that he should not like to deprive the ambassador of so great a treasure.—*A Voyage to East India*, by Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain. London, 1665.

emperor's birth-day, when there was a general fair and many processions and ceremonies, among which the most striking was the weighing of the royal person twelve times, in golden scales, against gold, silver, perfumes, and other substances, which were afterwards distributed among the spectators. The festivities lasted several days, during which time the king's usual place was in a sumptuous tent, shaded by rich awnings, while the ground, for the space of at least two acres, was spread with silken carpets and hangings, embroidered with gold, pearl, and precious stones. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the sovereign. But beneath the veil of splendour and outward decorum, all was hollow and unsound. The administration of the country was rapidly declining; the governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical; though, occasionally, an appeal from some injured person brought upon the oppressor the vengeance of the emperor, from which neither ability nor station could purchase immunity. The highest officials were open to corruption; and Roe, finding the treaty he was sent to negotiate remained unaccomplished after two years' tarry, deemed it expedient to bribe Asuf Khan with a valuable pearl, after which he soon succeeded in procuring for the English a partial liberty of trade; and then joyfully took his leave. The military spirit of the Moslems had already evaporated in an atmosphere of sloth and sensuality; and the Rajpoots, Patans, and Beloochees were spoken of by cotemporary writers (Terry, Hawkins, Roe) as the only brave soldiers to be found. The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindoostani. In the royal family, the succession was a matter of jealous discussion: Khosru was considered to have forfeited his prior claim by rebellion; and Parvaez, the next in age, being far inferior in ability to his younger brother, Khoorum, would, it was expected, be set aside to make way for the latter prince, who had married a niece of Nour Jehan, and was supported in his pretensions by her all-powerful influence.

In 1616, a great expedition was sent to the Deccan, of which the command was given to Khoorum, together with the title by which he was thenceforth known, of Shah Jehan (king of the world).* He succeeded in regaining Ahmednuggur and other places, captured by Malek Amber, who was compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizam Shah; but, in 1621, renewed the war. Shah Jehan was again dispatched to the Decean; but, from some rising distrust, refused to march unless his unhappy brother, Prince Khosru (who, by the earnest mediation of Parvaez, had had his chains struck off, and some measure of liberty allowed him) were entrusted to his custody. This desire was complied with, and Khoorum proceeded to attack Malek Amber, whom he at length brought to risk a general action. The result was very favourable to the Moguls, who granted peace on condition of a further cession of land and a considerable sum of money. Soon after this success, Jehangeer was prostrated by a dangerous attack of asthma. At this critical juncture, Prince Khosru died suddenly, and his rival brother, to whose charge he had been entrusted, was accused of having incited his assassination. However caused, it is remarkable that this event, which seemed especially calculated to strengthen the pretensions of Shah Jehan to the succession, proved to be only the commencement of a long series of dangers and disasters. The emperor partially recovered, and ever after manifested distrust and aversion to his previously favourite child. He evidently shared the suspicions generally entertained regarding

* Jehangeer established himself at Ajmeer, in 1613, in readiness to support his son in his operations against the Rana of Oudipoor, and had held his court there ever since. He now proceeded to take up his residence at Mandu, in Malwa, for the similar reason of being nearer to the seat of war. Sir Thomas Roe was permitted to follow in the suite of the court. He describes the royal progress as resembling a triumphal procession on a scale of extreme magnificence. Jehangeer himself, before entering *his coach*, showed himself to the people, literally laden with jewels—from his rich turban, with its plume of heron feathers, whence "on one side hung a rubie unset, as bigge as a walnut, on the other side a diamond as great, in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger," down to his "embroidered buskins with pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up." Immediately after the king rode Nour Jehan, also in an English carriage. The Leskar, or imperial camp, was admirably arranged, and occupied a circumference of at least twenty miles; looking down from it from a height, it resembled a beautiful city of many-coloured tents; that of the emperor in the centre, with its gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle, from whence diverged numerous streets, laid out without the least disorder, since every one, whether noble or shop-keeper, knew the precise spot on which he must place himself by its distance from, and situation with regard to, the royal pavilion.—(Murray's *Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Khosru's fate; besides which, the empress having recently affianced her daughter* by Sheer Afghan, to Prince Shehriar (Jehangeer's youngest son), attached herself to his interests, foreseeing that, in the event of his accession to the throne, she might continue to exercise a degree of power, which, under the sway of his more able and determined brother, was not to be expected.

With a view of removing Shah Jehan from the scene of his power and triumphs, he was directed to attempt the recovery of Candahar from the Persians, by whom it had been recently seized. The prince, perceiving the object of this command, delayed compliance on one pretext or another, until discussions arose, which issued in his breaking out into open rebellion, A.D. 1623. The crisis was fraught with danger to all parties. The father of Nour Jehan, on whom both she and the emperor had implicitly relied, was dead; Asuf Khan, though he seemed to move like a puppet according to her will, naturally leant towards his son-in-law; Parvaez, though a brave soldier, needed as a general an able counsellor by his side; nor does Shehriar seem to have been calculated to take the lead in this fierce and prolonged feud.† At length Nour Jehan cast her eyes on Mohabet Khan, the most rising general of the time, but, heretofore, the especial opponent of her brother, Asuf Khan. To him, jointly with Parvaez, was entrusted the conduct of hostilities against Shah Jehan, who retreated to Boorhanpoor, but was driven from thence to Bengal, of which province, together with Behar, he gained possession, but was expelled, and obliged to seek refuge in the Deccan, where he was welcomed and supported by his former foe, Malek Amber. At the expiration of two years he proffered his submission, and surrendered to Jehangeer the forts of Rohtas in Behar, and Aseerghur in the Deccan, together with his two sons (Dara and Aurungzebe), but he himself took refuge with the Rajpoots of Mewar.‡

Scarcely was this storm allayed, before a still more alarming one burst over the head of the emperor, provoked by his violent temper, and also by the domineering and suspicious conduct of Nour Jehan. The growing popularity of Mohabet Khan had, it would appear, excited jealousy, and he was summoned to answer, in person, various charges of oppression and embezzlement adduced against him during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He set out for court, attended by a body of 5,000 Rajpoots, whom he had contrived to attach to his service. Before his arrival, Jehangeer, learning that he had ventured to betroth his daughter without the customary form of asking the royal sanction, sent for the bridegroom, a young nobleman named Berkhordar, caused him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence; seized on the dowry he had received from Mohabet, and sequestrated all his other property. On approaching the camp, Mohabet was informed of what occurred, and also that the emperor would not see him; upon which he resolved, while the means remained at his command, to make a bold stroke for life and liberty. Jehangeer was at this time preparing to cross the Hydaspes, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cabool; the troops had passed, and he intended to follow at leisure, when Mohabet, by a sudden attack, just before day-break, gained possession of the bridge, and surprised the royal tent, where the emperor, scarcely recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men. Mohabet pretended to have been driven to this extremity by the enemies who had poisoned the mind of his master against him, and Jehangeer, after the first burst of rage, thought it best to conciliate his captor by affecting to believe this statement, and agreed to accompany him, in public, under the guardianship of a body of Rajpoots. Nour Jehan, on learning that the emperor had been carried to the tents of Mohabet Khan, put on a disguise, and succeeded in reaching the royal camp on the opposite side of the river, where she set on foot immediate preparations for a forcible rescue. Jehangeer, afraid of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet, to desire that no attack might be made; but she treated the message as a trick of Mohabet Khan's, and, at the head of the army, began to ford the river, the bridge having been, in the interim, burned by the Rajpoots. Rockets, balls,

* Della Valle states, that Nour Jehan had previously desired to marry her daughter to Khosru, offering, on that condition, to obtain his release; but he steadily refused, from strong affection to the wife he had already married, and who, after vainly urging him to comply with the proffered terms, continued as heretofore the patient companion of his long and sad captivity.—(*London translation of* 1665, p. 30.)

† According to Gladwin, this war "so deluged the empire with blood, that there was hardly a family but shared in the calamity."—*Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 45.

‡ Shah Jehan was warmly befriended in Oudi-

and arrows were discharged upon the troops, as they strove to make good their passage over a dangerous shoal, full of pools, with deep water on either side; and, on setting foot on the beach, they were fiercely opposed by the Rajpoots, who drove them back into the water, sword in hand. The ford became choked with horses and elephants, and a frightful sacrifice of life ensued. The empress* was among those who succeeded in effecting a landing, and at once became the special object of attack. The elephant on which she rode was speedily surrounded, the guards cut to pieces, and, among the balls and arrows which fell thick round her howdah, one wounded the infant daughter of Shehriar, who was seated in her lap, and another killed her driver. The elephant having received a severe cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and was carried along by the current; but, after several plunges, swam out, and safely reached the shore, where Nour Jehan was quickly surrounded by her attendants, who found her engaged in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the terrified infant. The repulse was complete; for, although a portion of the royalists, under an officer named Fedai Khan, had, during the confusion of the battle, entered the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and penetrated so far that their balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehangeer was seated, they were compelled to retire by the general defeat, and Fedai Khan, having lost most of his men, and being himself wounded, immediately took refuge in the neighbouring fort of Rohtas, of which he was governor.

Nour Jehan, perceiving the hopelessness of attempting the forcible rescue of her husband, determined to join him in his captivity; and her brother, with other leaders, were eventually obliged to surrender themselves to Mohabet Khan, who appeared to be completely triumphant, but whose position, nevertheless, demanded great circumspection. He had from the first affected to treat Jehangeer with much ceremonious deference; and the captive monarch, tutored by Nour Jehan, pretended to be completely reconciled to his position, and glad to be relieved from the thraldom of Asuf Khan. He even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohabet of the ambition and discontent of the empress, and acted his part so cleverly, as completely to deceive his gaoler. Meanwhile the army advanced to Cabool, and the Afghans in the neighbourhood showed every disposition to take part with the emperor, while the dissensions among the troops gave full employment to their general. Nour Jehan was too able an intriguante not to take advantage of such favourable circumstances. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into the camp, as if in quest of service; while others were to remain at their positions, and await further orders. Jehangeer next suggested a muster of the troops of all the jaghiredars, of whom the empress formed an important member, holding large estates, and having been made a munsubdar of 30,000; commanders of that rank being, it will be remembered, only expected or even suffered to maintain a much smaller number. When summoned to produce her contingent, she expressed indignation at being placed on the level of an ordinary subject; but, on pretence of desiring to produce a respectable muster, increased her previous force, by gradually receiving the recruits from the country. Mohabet Khan began to suspect some plot, but suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehangeer to avoid personal risk, by forbearing to accompany him to the muster of Nour Jehan's contingent. The emperor advanced alone to the review, and had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rajpoot horse, by whom he was guarded, and, being speedily joined by their confederates, placed his person beyond the reach of recapture. Mohabet Khan, perceiving himself completely duped, withdrew to a distance with his troops, and, after some attempts at negotiation, came to an open rupture, and entered into alliance with Shah Jehan. This prince had endeavoured to take advantage of his father's captivity to renew hostilities, by marching from the Deccan to Ajmeer at the head of little more than 1,000 men; but the death of his chief adherent, Rajah Kishen Sing, deprived him of at least half his followers, and he was compelled to fly across the desert to

poor, where a sumptuous edifice was raised for his use, adorned with a lofty dome crowned with a crescent; the interior richly decorated with mosaic in onyx, cornelian, jasper and agates, rich Turkey carpets, &c.; and that nothing of state might be wanting to the royal refugee, a throne was sculptured from a single block of serpentine, supported by quadriform female caryatidæ: in the court a little chapel was erected to the Moslem-Saint, Madar.

* Nour Jehan was a true Amazon: Jehangeer records with much pride her having, on a hunting party, killed four tigers with a matchlock from her elephant.

Sinde. Thence he purposed proceeding to Persia, but, being delayed by sickness, remained there until affairs took a more promising turn. Parvaez died at Boorhanpoor, according to the general account, of epilepsy, brought on by excessive drinking, though Tod asserts him to have been slain at the instigation of Shah Jehan, who proceeded to the Deecan, where he was joined by Mohabet Khan.

Jehangeer, shortly after his restoration to liberty, quitted Cabool for his residence at Lahore, and from thence set off on his annual visit to "the blooming saffron meads" of Cashmere. But the autumn was unusually cold, and the clear pure air of the lovely valley proved too keen for the broken constitution of the emperor. A severe attack of asthma came on, and an attempt was made to carry him back to the warmer climate of Lahore. The motion and passage of the mountains increased the complaint, and before a third of the journey was accomplished he expired, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

His character was full of contradictions. Though cruel and rapacious, he yet, in many ways, evinced a sort of paternal interest in the welfare of his subjects, and a desire for the impartial administration of justice between rich and poor—Moslem and Hindoo. He occasionally quitted the palace, and went abroad on nocturnal expeditions, mingling freely with the lower classes, without any fear of assassination, although his person, from his daily appearance in public, must have been well known. His easy and familiar manners rendered him popular, notwithstanding the frightful torments inflicted on real or alleged criminals by his express orders. Many of his proceedings favour the idea that he had inherited from his mother a taint of madness, which his excesses in wine and opium sometimes brought into action. He was probably as complete a deist as his father, but superstition had laid much heavier chains on his weak and wayward mind; and some of the tales gravely recorded by him might find a fit place in the *Arabian Nights*. Unfortunately, his autobiography ceases about the middle of his reign. Long before its conclusion, the whole tone and spirit changes; and instead of exulting over his immense possessions, the royal writer dwells bitterly on the unceasing anxiety attendant on sovereign power, declaring that the jewels formerly coveted had become worthless in his sight, and that satiety had utterly extinguished the delight he had once taken in contemplating the graces of youth and beauty. Like a far wiser monarch—even Solomon—he had discovered that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, but knew not, or cared not to search out the antidote.

With Jehangeer all the schemes of Nour Jehan perished. On her attempting to assert the claims of the absent Shehriar, her own brother, probably weary of the tyranny to which he had been so long subjected, placed her under restraint; but, on being released, she was treated with respect, and allowed a yearly stipend of a quarter of a million sterling. Throughout her widowhood she lived very quietly; abstained from all entertainments; wore no colour but white; and at her death, in 1646, was buried in a tomb she had herself erected, close to that of the emperor, at Lahore.

Reign of Shah Jehan.—On the death of Jehangeer, Asuf Khan immediately sent a messenger to fetch his son-in-law, whose cause he had resolved to support, although (according to Dow), by the will of the late emperor, the throne had been expressly bequeathed to Shehriar. Pending the arrival of Shah Jehan, the vizier, desirous to sanction his own proceedings by the semblance of legal authority, released Prince Dawir, the son of Khosru, from prison, and proclaimed him king. Shehriar, who had been at Lahore some weeks, on learning his father's death, seized the royal treasure, took command of the troops—whose favour he gained by extravagant largesses—and set free the two sons of Prince Danial from the species of honourable captivity in which they had been detained by Jehangeer ever since their father's death, in accordance with the cruel policy of oriental despotism. The confederate princes were defeated and captured by Asuf Khan. Meanwhile, the Rajpoot allies of Shah Jehan, delighted at the prospect of his rising fortunes, sent an escort to Surat to accompany him thence to Oudipoor, and there, within the hospitable walls which had sheltered him in exile, the now triumphant prince was first formally hailed Emperor of Hindoostan. Rana Kurrun did not live to witness the joyful return of the wanderer; he had died shortly before Jehangeer: his brother, Rajah Bheem, with many noble chiefs, had fallen in the cause; but their representative, Juggut Sing, received from the new emperor, on his departure, a ruby of inestimable value, the

restoration of five alienated provinces, and a most welcome permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Chittore. Other emotions besides those of gratitude were, however, at work within the breast of Shah Jehan. Resolved, by any means, to grasp the imperial sceptre, he sent to Asuf Khan a mandate for the execution of the puppet he had placed upon the throne, also of his brother Shehriar, the two sons of Danial, and another prince, the son of Khosru. The tyrannical command was obeyed.* Shah Jehan was proclaimed king at Agra, January, 1628, and not a male of the house of Timur remained to cause him present or future anxiety, save only his four sons, whose strife and rebellion were destined, by retributive justice, to scourge his crimes, to snatch the sceptre from his feeble hands, and immure him for long years the captive of a son, who, like himself, scrupled not to wade to a throne through the blood of near kindred.

But this is anticipating events; for Shah Jehan's reign lasted thirty years before its miserable termination. His first acts were evidently designed to obliterate from the public mind, and probably from his own, the means by which he had endeavoured to consolidate his authority. Following, to a limited extent, the example of his father, he opened the doors of the fortress of Gwalior to all state-prisoners, some of whom had been in confinement during the whole of the preceding reign—a measure which did more to procure him popularity than the magnificence of his festivals or the costly structures which he delighted in erecting. From these pursuits he was soon diverted by local disturbances. The Uzbeks invaded Cabool, but were driven out by Mohabet Khan. The Mogul arms were next directed against Narsing Deo, of Bundelcund (the destroyer of Abul Fazil), and the rajah, after long resistance, was eventually brought to submission.

As Shah Jehan considered it the bounden duty of every great prince to leave to his posterity a larger territorial sway than that which he had himself inherited,† it is not surprising that abundant reason was soon found for invading the Decean. At this period, the three remaining governments held by Moslems—Ahmednuggur, Beejapoor, and Goleonda, had nearly recovered their ancient limits. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Afghan officer of rank, being left with undivided authority over the Moguls after the death of Prince Parvaez, had deemed it necessary or expedient, during the troubled state of affairs occasioned by the disputes regarding the succession, and the proceedings of Mohabet Khan, to surrender the remaining portion of Shah Jehan's conquests in the Deccan to the son of Malek Amber, who had succeeded his father in the Nizam Shahi government: but the fort of Ahmednuggur was still held by a Mogul garrison, who refused to obey Khan Jehan Lodi's command. When Shah Jehan set out to ascend the throne, Khan Jehan refused to join him. On learning the defeat and death of Shehriar and Dawir, he proffered allegiance, and was confirmed in his government by the new emperor, but soon removed thence to Malwa, Mohabet Khan taking his place in the Deccan. Having cooperated in the reduction of Narsing Deo, Khan Jehan was invited to court, whither he proceeded with his two sons, relying for safety both on the assurances given to him individually, and on the edict of indemnity proclaimed to all who had opposed the accession of the reigning sovereign. The usher of the court evinced a marked disrespect towards him—or so at least the proud Afghan considered—but the ceremonies of presentation were passed without any positive disturbance. His son, Azmut, a lad of sixteen, with all his father's high spirit and less discretion, was next introduced; and he, considering that he had been kept too long prostrate, sprang up before the signal was given. The usher struck him on the head with his rod; the youth aimed a blow in return; upon which a general confusion ensued, and Khan Jehan, with his sons, rushed from the palace

* According to Dow, all the five princes were murdered; but Elphinstone (on the authority of Olearius, *Ambassadors Travels*, p. 190) states that Dawir found means to escape to Persia, where he was seen by the Holstein ambassadors, in 1688. The conduct of Shah Jehan on this occasion strongly favours the general belief of his having instigated the assassination of his brother, Khosru, (see p. 124.) Mr. Elphinstone partially defends him, by remarking, "that we ought not readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye" (vol. ii. p. 368.) But, in a subsequent page, he expressly states, that Shehriar "was afterwards put to death with the sons of Danial, by order of Shah Jehan" (vol. ii. p. 388.) He does not adopt Dow's statement of the bequeathing of the throne by Jehangeer to Shehriar; and, consequently, regards that prince and his nephews as having forfeited their lives by rebellion against the lawful authority of Shah Jehan, the eldest surviving son. By Mohammedan law, the children of Danial were cut off from the succession by the death of their father, before their grandfather.

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 167.

to their own house, and there shut themselves up within the strong stone walls, with about 300 dependents. The emperor, not caring to order a siege so near his own abode, endeavoured to entice the refractory noble by fair words; but, not venturing to put faith in them, Khan Jehan assembled his troops by night, and marched out of Agra, with his kettle-drums beating.* Within two hours a strong detachment was sent in pursuit, and came up with the fugitives at the river Chumbul. A desperate encounter took place, especially between the Afghans and a body of Rajpoots, who dismounted and charged with lances, according to their national custom. Azmut was slain, after first killing with an arrow the Mogul usher, who had struck him at court; and Khan Jehan, being wounded in an encounter with Rajah Pirthi Sing, plunged into the stream, and succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, from whence, though hotly pursued by a much superior force, he made his way through Bundelcund into the wild and woody country of Gondwana, where he opened a friendly communication with the king of Ahmednuggur.

Towards the close of 1629, Shah Jehan marched to Boorhanpoor, at the head of a powerful armament, and sent on three detachments (estimated by Khafi Khan at 50,000 men each), to march into Ahmednuggur. Khan Jehan and his friends could make no head against this overwhelming force. The kings of Golconda and Beejapoor, as long as possible, kept aloof from the conflict, and Mortezza Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur, was himself obliged to seek protection in his forts. Khan Jehan was at length driven from the Deccan, and hunted from place to place. Being overtaken in Bundelcund, he made a desperate stand, and when defeated endeavoured to force his way into the hill-fort of Calinjer, but was repulsed with the loss of his last remaining son, and finally overtaken at a pool, where he had stopped from exhaustion. The few brave adherents who still followed him, he entreated to seek safety in flight, but they (to the number of about thirty) refused to forsake their brave leader, and were, with him, cut to pieces after a desperate struggle with the Rajpoots. The head of the unhappy chief was fixed on a pike, and carried in triumph, as a most acceptable gift, to Shah Jehan, A.D. 1630.

The hostilities against Ahmednuggur did not end with the life of the person whose conduct had formed the pretext for them, but were prosecuted in the ferocious spirit befitting an invader, who declared war to be an evil which compassion contributed to render permanent.† Time passed on; fire and the sword were freely used to ravage the country and dishearten its defenders; drought, famine, and pestilence, to a frightful extent, lent their aid, but still, in 1635, repeated murderous campaigns were found to have left the Deccan as far as ever from being subdued to the imperial yoke.‡

At one time, indeed, affairs had seemed more promising, owing to the internal feuds which wasted the strength of Ahmednuggur. Mortezza Nizam Shah (the king set up by Malek Amber) being, on the death of the vizier, inclined to act for himself, threw the eldest son of his patron, Futteh Khan, into prison; but, being pressed by foes without, and faction within, was soon glad to release him and place him in his father's position. Mohammed Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who had looked on from neutral ground, and left the neighbouring kingdom to maintain single-handed the contest with the Moguls, became alarmed at the probable consequence of the ruin of a monarchy, which, though at all times a rival, and often an inimical state, had nevertheless long formed a valuable bulwark against invasion from Hindoostan. He now, therefore, declared war

* The account given by Elphinstone and Dow, on the authority of native writers, differs greatly. According to the former, Khan Jehan was accompanied in his flight by his women on elephants, and by twelve of his sons. Dow alleges a fearful tragedy to have been previously enacted. Thinking it hopeless to attempt carrying away the inmates of his harem, and dishonourable to abandon them to the lust of his foes, Khan Jehan knew not what to do; when the women, learning his perplexity, took the desperate resolve of destroying themselves, and thus removing all impediments to his escape. They did so, and their shrieks and groans reached the ears of Khan Jehan, who, after hastily performing the rites of sepulture, assembled his followers in the court-yard, threw open the gates and rushed out, maddened by rage and despair.—(Vol. iii., p. 133.)

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 168.

‡ Azuf Khan "trod down the scanty harvest in the Deccan, and ravaged with fire and sword the kingdom of Beejapoor."—(Dow, vol. iii., p. 151.) The Hindoos, in despair, abandoned all attempts at cultivation, and prostrated themselves in crowds before the shrine of their gods, upon which, Shah Jehan issued an edict for breaking down their idols, and demolishing the temples. Many Brahmins were massacred; but the resistance offered was so determined, that the emperor was compelled to relinquish this species of persecution, and to adopt more gentle means of inducing them to till the ground.

against Shah Jehan; but the effect of the diversion intended to be created by this step, in favour of Mortezza Nizam Shah, failed in its effect, through the machinations of Futteh Khan, who, treacherously employing the power newly entrusted to him, to the ruin, instead of the protection of his royal master, caused him to be put to death, with his chief adherents. He then took the government into his own hands, and sent a large contribution, or rather bribe, to the Moguls, with offers of submission, and an open profession that the infant he had placed on the throne would hold his dignity in subordination to the emperor. Shah Jehan doubtless considered it as necessary, in the contingencies of war, to overlook perfidy and uphold its perpetrators, as to set aside the pleadings of compassion; and this is not to be wondered at; for justice and mercy, rightly understood—

"Are twin-born sisters; and so mix their eyes,
As if you sever one, the other dies."

Futteh Khan's proposals were immediately accepted; but having no intention of fulfilling his promise to any further extent than that which his own narrow views of expediency might dictate, he no sooner saw the whole Mogul force directed against Beejapoor, than he violated his engagements, and being consequently attacked by the Moguls, once more made common cause with the king of Beejapoor.

Shah Jehan returned to Agra in 1632, after having ineffectually besieged Mohammed Adil Shah in his capital, leaving Mohabet Khan in command. The operations under that general led to Futteh Khan's being shut up in the fort of Doulatabad, where he was besieged, and at length forced or induced to surrender. Notwithstanding all his treachery, he was received into the Mogul army,* while the unhappy child, whom he had styled king, was sent to languish in the lately emptied fort of Gwalior. Ahmednuggur was, however, not yet conquered. Shahjee Bhonslay, an officer who had played a conspicuous part in the recent war, and whose family were afterwards the founders of the Mahratta power, asserted the rights of a new claimant to the throne, and gradually conquered all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital.

The king of Beejapoor, after the capture of Doulatabad, made overtures of negotiation, but these being unfavourably received, continued to defend himself bravely, until Mohabet Khan, having vainly invested Purinda, was compelled to fall back upon Boorhanpoor, and to desist from aggressive operations. On learning the ill success of his deputies, Shah Jehan resolved to take the field in person, and dividing his troops as before, sent them first into Ahmednuggur to attack Sahjee: having driven him from the open country, they proceeded to assault Beejapoor. Adil Shah was, however, a bold and determined prince; he laid waste the country for twenty miles around, destroyed every particle of food or forage, choked the wells, drained the reservoirs, and rendered it impossible for any army to invest the city. Peace was at length granted, the king of Beejapoor agreeing to pay £200,000 a-year to Shah Jehan, who conferred upon him, in return, a share of the Nizam Shahi dominions. Shahjee held out for some time longer, but at length submitted, gave up the person of the pretended king, and entered into the service of Adil Shah, by the permission of the emperor. The king of Golconda had not ventured to contest Shah Jehan's claim to supremacy and tribute, which he had recognised at the commencement of this expedition, and the emperor returned in triumph, the kingdom of Ahmednuggur being now extinguished.

While these prolonged hostilities were carried on in the Deccan, contests of less magnitude were taking place in Little Thibet, Hooghly, Cutch Behar, and elsewhere.† During his rebellion, Shah Jehan had applied to the Portuguese at Hooghly for aid, and had received a refusal (couched, it is alleged, in terms of reproach for his undutiful conduct), which he only waited a convenient opportunity to revenge. His late wife,‡ Mumtaz Mahal, daughter to Asuf Khan, had also conceived an especial dislike to "the European idolaters," on account of the images before which they worshipped.

* He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

† In 1634 and 1636, a portion of the troops on the eastern frontier completed the settlement of Little Thibet; another detachment was defeated, and almost destroyed, in an attempt to conquer Srinagar in 1634; and a third, after subduing the petty state of Cutch Behar from Bengal, in 1637, was compelled to retire by the unhealthiness of the climate.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 401.)

‡ This lady died in 1631. She had been married twenty years, and had borne nearly as many children. Shah Jehan erected to her memory a structure of extraordinary beauty and magnificence (called, by a corruption of her name, Taj Mahal), which forms one of the most interesting monuments of Agra.

These circumstances lent weight to a representation which arrived from the governor of Bengal, complaining of the insolent and aggressive conduct of the Portuguese,* and he received from the emperor the laconic command—"expel these idolaters from my dominions." Hooghly was carried by storm, after a siege of three months and a-half, involving a terrible destruction of life on the side of the Portuguese, whose fleet (including sixty-four large vessels) was almost entirely destroyed. The principal ship, in which about 2,000 men, women, and children had taken refuge, with all their treasure, was blown up by its captain, sooner than yield to the Moguls; and the example was followed in many other vessels. From the prisoners, 500 young persons, of both sexes, were selected, with some of the priests, and sent to Agra; the girls were distributed among the harems of the emperor and chief nobles, and the boys circumcised. The Jesuits and other friars were vainly threatened with severe punishment if they persisted in rejecting the Koran; but, after some months' confinement, were liberated and sent to Goa. The pictures and images, which had excited the displeasure of the queen, were all destroyed, and Hooghly became the royal port of Bengal, A.D. 1632.

In 1637, the Persian governor of Candahar, incited by the tyranny of his sovereign, surrendered this important frontier post to Shah Jehan, who appointed him to various high positions (including, at different times, the governments of Cashmere and Cabool), and made him leader of several important expeditions, the first of which was the invasion of Balkh and Badakshan, in 1644. The pretext for hostilities was Shah Jehan's desire to assert the dormant rights of his family; the inducement, the revolt of the son of the reigning Uzbek sovereign, Nazir Mohammed, and the consequent unfitness of the state to resist foreign invasion. After a large expenditure of blood and treasure, and the display of extraordinary valour on the part of a body of 14,000 Rajpoots, commanded by Rajah Juggut Sing,† who encountered the hardships of the rigorous climate as unshrinkingly as the fierce onsets of the Uzbeks, Balkh was at length captured. In this war the princes Morad and Aurungzebe were both employed; and Shah Jehan twice repaired to Cabool, to support their efforts. But all endeavours to restore order into the conquered territory were rendered ineffectual by the marauding incursions of Uzbeks from the other side of the Oxus, headed by Abdool Aziz, the prince whose turbulence had stimulated the Mogul invasion. Shah Jehan, despairing of being able to keep what it had cost so much to gain, re-instated Nazir Mohammed on his throne, on condition of receiving a small annual tribute; and after restoring the places of which he had got possession, left him to maintain the contest against his rebellious son as best he might.‡

In 1647, Candahar was taken by Shah Abbas II. in person. In 1649 and 1652, it was invested by Aurungzebe; and, in 1653, by Dara Sheko, the acknowledged heir to the throne—Shah Jehan, on each occasion, accompanying the army as far as Cabool. Dara made a fierce and determined attack; for the jealousy already springing up between the royal brothers, rendered him especially desirous to conquer where Aurungzebe had been twice defeated. Besides natural means, he had recourse to magicians and astrologers, who promised great things, but could not prevent the failure of his last desperate assault, in which, though the troops at one time gained the summit of the rampart, they were eventually repulsed, and Dara compelled to raise the siege, after losing the flower of his army in its prosecution. No after-endeavour was made by the Moguls to recover Candahar, of which they had held but precarious possession since its first conquest by Baber.

Two years of nearly undisturbed tranquillity followed, during which, Shah Jehan having completed a revenue survey of his Deccani dominions, gave orders for the adoption of the system of assessment and collection, introduced by Todar Mul, in Bengal. This period is likewise memorable for the death of Saad Ullah Khan, who had succeeded Asuf Khan§ as vizier. In him Shah Jehan lost a wise and upright minister,

* Among other accusations, the governor asserted, that the Portuguese were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing children, and sending them as slaves to other parts of India.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 240.)

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 402. This chief would appear to have been the son of Mokund Sing, Rajah of Kotah, a branch of the Oudipoor family.

‡ Upon this war, according to Dow, six million were expended out of the imperial treasury, besides estates granted to the value of one million more.

§ Asuf Khan died in 1641, leaving several children; but as the emperor loved money, and might possibly avail himself of the law which constituted the sovereign heir to all his officers, the prudent vizier

whose ability had made amends for the decreasing energy consequent on the criminal excesses in which the emperor had indulged after the death of his favourite wife.

Towards the close of 1655, a pretext was found for renewing the war in the Deccan. Abdullah Kootb Shah, of Golconda, had taken for his chief minister, Meer Jumla, originally a Persian adventurer, who had gradually acquired great wealth as a diamond merchant. During the absence of this officer, in command of an army in the eastern part of the kingdom, his son, Mohammed Ameen, a dissolute and violent young man, seated himself on the musnud, in a fit of intoxication; for which offence he was severely reprimanded, and forbidden to appear in the presence of the sultan. Meer Jumla, either from distrust of his sovereign, or, as is more probable, from some previous understanding with Aurungzebe, to whom he was personally known, took occasion to solicit the assistance of that prince. Such conduct was inexcusably disloyal; for it does not appear that either the life or liberty of the offender were in danger; and Abdullah, by the regular payment of the stipulated tribute since the last pacification, had left no plea for Mogul interference. Nevertheless, Shah Jehan was induced to send to the sultan a peremptory order for the discharge of both father and son, for whom the same envoy bore commissions in the imperial service as munsubdars, respectively of 5,000 and 2,000 horse. Before the arrival of the ambassador, Abdullah having learned his approach and mission, threw Mohammed Ameen into prison, and confiscated the property of his father. Shah Jehan then authorised Aurungzebe to carry his command into effect by force of arms, which the wily prince proceeded to do after his own treacherous and manœuvring fashion, by despatching a chosen force, under pretence of escorting his son, Sultan Mohammed, to Bengal,* there to espouse his cousin, the daughter of Prince Shuja, the viceroy of that province. Abdullah Shah was preparing an entertainment for the reception of the supposed bridegroom, when he suddenly advanced as an enemy, and took the sultan so entirely by surprise, that he had only time to fly to the neighbouring hill-fort of Golconda, while Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, and was plundered and half-burned before the soldiery could be brought into order. Abdullah Shah released Mohammed Ameen, restored the confiscated property, and did all in his power to enter into an accommodation on reasonable terms, but Aurungzebe persisted in investing Golconda, and Meer Jumla drew near with re-inforcements, in readiness to turn his unfortunate master's troops against himself.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain aid from Beejapoor, and to raise the siege by force, Abdullah Shah was compelled to submit to the severe terms imposed upon him of giving his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, with a large dowry in land and money, and paying a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute; in which, however, a considerable remission was afterwards made by Shah Jehan.

When these matters were settled, the kingdom of Beejapoor was invaded by Aurungzebe on a plea as hollow as that used for the attack on Golconda. Mohammed Adil Shah died in November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son Ali, a youth of nineteen. A large portion of the Beejapoor army was employed at a distance, in wars with the petty Hindoo princes of the Carnatic; and Aurungzebe, having obtained his father's approval of his nefarious project, asserted the right of the emperor to decide upon the succession, denied that the minor was the real issue of the late sovereign, advanced upon the capital, and by sudden and treacherous† proceedings, left the new king no resource but to sue for peace on any terms. Even this overture was rejected by Aurungzebe, who would probably have speedily obtained complete possession of the kingdom, had not his attention been suddenly diverted by the startling intelligence, that his father's disgraceful indulgences had brought on an attack of paralysis and strangury, which threatened to terminate fatally.

At this time, the children of Shah Jehan, by Mumtaz Mahal, were six in number. Dara Sheko, the eldest, then in his forty-second year, was a high-spirited prince, dignified in his manners, and generous to his adherents,

thought it best to distribute a certain portion of his wealth, amounting to £375,000, among his children and servants, leaving the remainder (nearly £4,000,000 stg.) to his grandson, Dara Sheko. His landed estates, of course, reverted to the crown.

* In the road from Aurungabad to Bengal, a circuit is made to avoid the forests of Gondwana, and thus the prince was enabled to come within a short distance of Hyderabad, without creating suspicion.

† He succeeded in corrupting Ali's prime minister.

but obstinate in the extreme, and impatient of advice, even from counsellors on whose judgment and ability he might be expected to place most reliance. Shuja was brave, and not devoid of capacity, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurungzebe, the third brother, was a man of extraordinary ability. His talents for war and intrigue had been repeatedly manifested, and Dara appears to have fully appreciated the depth of ambitious resolve, which lay hidden beneath the veil of extreme humility of deportment and an affected indifference to all worldly distinction.*

Zeal for the religion of Mohammed was the ostensible motive of Aurungzebe's conduct through life; how far felt or how far feigned, can scarcely be decided, owing to the profound and habitual dissimulation which marked his whole career. A creed to be unceasingly promulgated by any and every means, was, in either case, a convenient political weapon; and Aurungzebe used it skilfully and without scruple. Frugal and abstemious almost to asceticism, he seemed resolved to follow in the steps of the early caliphs, and drew the attention of the more zealous Moslems, by his studious fulfilment of every ordinance, until he became looked up to as the champion of Islam, in contradistinction to Dara, who openly professed many of the tenets of Akber, and had written a book to reconcile the Hindoo and Mohammedan doctrines. Shuja, the viceroy of Bengal, was unpopular with the orthodox party, on account of his attachment to the Persian sect of the Sheiahs. Morad, the youngest prince, the governor of Guzerat, was brave and generous, but presumptuous and self-willed, with little intellect, and addicted to sensual gratifications. Padshah Begum, the elder of the two daughters, was richly endowed with beauty and talent. She exercised unbounded influence over her father, and was a great support to her favourite brother Dara. Roushenara, the younger princess, though less gifted with personal or mental attractions, possessed considerable aptitude for intrigue; and having made common cause with Aurungzebe, served him materially, by forwarding reliable information respecting the state of affairs at court at critical periods.

Dara endeavoured to keep the illness of the emperor a profound secret until the crisis should be past, by intercepting correspondence and detaining travellers likely to spread the news throughout the provinces; but all in vain: the absent princes soon learned what had occurred, and at once prepared to struggle for life and empire. Shuja assembled the troops of Bengal, and marched forthwith into Behar, on his way to the capital. Morad seized the money in the district treasuries of Guzerat, and laid siege to Surat, where there was a governor independent of his authority. Aurungzebe prepared his forces, but made no open declaration of war, until orders came from Dara, in the name of the emperor, directing Meer Jumla and other commanders to quit his standard. This injunction carried considerable weight in the case of the above-named general. On joining the Moguls, he had been appointed to the highest offices at court, but through the solicitations of Dara, was sent back to the Deccan. His family remained at Agra: he therefore feared the consequences of disobeying the imperial mandate. The subtlety of Aurungzebe soon suggested an expedient. Meer Jumla was seized with pretended violence, and placed in the fort of Doulatabad, while his chief officers continued secretly to obey his commands. Dara and Shuja, Aurungzebe knew, might be safely left to fight out their own quarrel; in Morad, he calculated, with reason, upon finding a useful tool, as well as an easy dupe. He addressed him a letter in the most adulatory strain, proffering his zealous co-operation against the infidel Dara, and declaring, that after aiding his worthy brother to mount the throne, he should renounce the world, and devote his life to praying for his welfare in the holy retirement of Mecca. Morad, completely deceived, joyfully accepted the offer, and Aurungzebe marched to join him in Malwa, whither Rajah Jeswunt Sing had been already sent to oppose them; but he, from sheer fool-hardiness, is alleged to have permitted the junction of the princes. Meanwhile, Shah Jehan had sufficiently recovered to resume the general control of the government. The tender solicitude of Dara, during his illness, had rendered

* One of our best authorities for this period is Bernier, an intelligent French traveller, who having been reduced to a state of penury "by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expenses incurred on a journey of near seven weeks from Surat to Agra and Delhi," was glad to accept a salary from Shah Jehan in the capacity of physician, and also from Danechmund Khan, a distinguished noble of the Mogul court to which Bernier was attached for eight years.

this son more dear to him than ever, and he resented with energy the misconduct of the other princes. To Shuja he wrote, commanding him in imperative terms to return immediately to his government; but instead of obeying, the prince affected to consider the order dictated by Dara, and continued his progress until he encountered Soliman Sheko, the son of Dara, in the neighbourhood of Benares, by whom he was defeated and compelled to retreat into Bengal. This battle occurred at the close of 1657: in the spring of the following year, a fierce conflict took place between the forces of the confederate princes and Rajah Jeswunt Sing, who had encamped on the river Sipra, near Oojein. The Rajpoots fought bravely, but were ill-supported, for most of the Moguls deserted to the enemy. The rajah retired in disorder to his own country, and Morad, whose gallantry had been very conspicuous throughout the sanguinary conflict, which had lasted from morning to sunset, was hailed as sole victor, Aurungzebe still acting in conformity with the solemn oath of fidelity and allegiance he had voluntarily taken at their first meeting. Shah Jehan now determined to take the field in person against his turbulent sons. Had he persevered in this resolve, much bloodshed would probably have been spared, as the soldiers of the rebel camp were known to be well-disposed towards him personally, and would doubtless have rallied round his standard. But Dara did not comprehend the extent of the danger; regard for his father's infirm state, united perhaps to a more selfish desire of keeping the authority in his own hands, rendered him averse to this proposition, and Shah Jehan reluctantly gave way. Confident in his superior numbers, Dara refused even to wait for Soliman, then on his victorious march from Benares with the flower of the troops, and proceeded single-handed to meet the advancing foe.*

The hostile armies came in sight of each other at Samaghar, one march from Agra, in the beginning of June, 1658. The battle which ensued was long and bloody, the three brothers fighting with desperation. Morad was attacked by 3,000 Uzbek archers, who showered their arrows upon his howdah until they resembled the bristling quills of a porcupine, and the frightened elephant would have rushed from the field, had he not ordered its feet to be chained, thus (although wounded in several places) cutting off his own power of retreat. Aurungzebe saw his brother's danger, but was fully occupied in opposing Dara, who having, by a third fierce charge of cavalry, broken through the guns chained together in front of the enemy's line, now carried all before him, and, though again checked, would probably have eventually prevailed, had not a rocket struck the elephant on which he rode, while pressing forward and cheering on his troops by voice and action. The terrified animal became perfectly ungovernable. Dara threw himself from its back and sprang upon a horse; but an attendant, while fastening on his quiver, was killed by a shot. The momentary confusion which occurred among those immediately around him, added to the effect of his previous disappearance from the view of the more distant troops, occasioned a general panic. With him the sole object of the war was supposed to have perished; and the confederate princes perceiving their advantage, pressed forward and drove the now disordered foe, including Dara himself, before them, in irremediable disorder. Rajah Chutter-sal, of Boondi, with his vassals, formed the vanguard of the unfortunate prince, and made a devoted but unavailing effort to stem the torrent. The rajah himself, clad in saffron robes, with a chaplet of pearls on his head, was true to these ensigns of victory or death. Leaping from the back of his wounded elephant, which he could not restrain from joining in the general flight, he mounted his horse, and forming his men in a dense mass, led them to attack Morad, against whom he was about hurling his lance, when a cannon-ball laid him dead at his feet. The brave band were soon hemmed in, and the heads of every Hara clan, including six princes of the blood-royal of Boondi, perished, maintaining inviolate their oath of allegiance to Shah Jehan When the issue of the day was evident, Aurungzebe fell on his knees and returned thanks for the victory granted to Morad, whom he saluted, and affecting lively emotion at the sight of his wounds, wiped the blood from his face, and warmly congratulated him on the acquisition of a kingdom. While this hypocritical scene was being enacted, the unhappy Dara pur-

* Khafi Khan states the imperial force at above 70,000 horse, with innumerable elephants and guns. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 423.) Bernier, at 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of cannon. He reckons the opposing army as not exceeding "40,000 men of all arms."—(Brock's *Translation*, vol. i., p. 50.)

sued his flight to Agra, with about 2,000 men, most of them wounded; and feeling ashamed to present himself before the indulgent father, whose counsels he had disregarded, proceeded to Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two children, and was subsequently joined by 5,000 horse, sent by Shah Jehan to his assistance. Three days after the battle, Aurungzebe encamped before the walls of Agra, took immediate possession of the city, but did not attempt to enter by force the royal residence, contenting himself for some days longer by sending messages to his father, pleading the necessity of the case, and requesting to be forgiven and admitted to his presence. It is probable that he really desired to conciliate the aged monarch, and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name, at least until all rivalry should be completely crushed; but Shah Jehan resented his protestations of filial affection as an additional insult, and did not swerve from his attachment to Dara. Aurungzebe, therefore, sent his son, Mohammed Sultan* to take possession of the citadel, and prevent all communication between the emperor and every one beyond its walls. This appears to have been done without difficulty; for there is no record of a single effort being made to assert the rights of the monarch, who remained in a sort of honourable captivity, until his death, seven years after, aged seventy-four. During the long reign thus abruptly closed, the internal administration of affairs had been conducted with more rectitude and ability than, perhaps, under any other Mogul ruler. Khafi Khan (the best historian of those times) asserts, that although Akber was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a law-giver, yet, in territorial and financial arrangements, he could bear no comparison with his grandson. Although a staunch Mussulman, Shah Jehan was warmly attached to the Hindoos, who, as we have seen, had spent their best blood freely in his behalf, and his foreign wars did not interrupt the tranquillity which prevailed, almost without interruption, throughout his dominions. Wealth, both public and private, increased in a remarkable degree, and the annual revenue is supposed to have exceeded thirty-two million sterling. A new city was built at Delhi,† on a regular plan, far surpassing the old one in magnificence; and the imperial establishments, retinue, and appurtenances‡ all exceeded in pomp those of previous reigns. Yet, notwithstanding the costly wars in which he engaged, the maintenance of a large regular army (including 200,000 horse), and the erection of many splendid structures, Shah Jehan left a treasure estimated at twenty-four million sterling, besides vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.

After deposing his father, the next step of Aurungzebe was to get rid of Morad, whom he continued to delude, by submissive behaviour and unremitting attentions, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dara. Taking advantage of Morad's addiction to pleasure, Aurungzebe invited him to supper, and, waving his own scruples (if

* The circumstances connected with this interesting period are differently told. According to Bernier (whose account Dow appears to have followed), Shah Jehan was tempted to encounter Aurungzebe with his own weapons, and hoping to secure his person, consented to listen to his excuses. The wily prince affected extreme delight at this concession, but alleged, that although he had perfect confidence in his father's good faith, he dreaded the intrigues of his elder sister, and dared not trust the garrison, unless he were permitted to introduce, for his protection, some troops under his son, Mohammed Sultan. Shah Jehan, desirous to get him within reach at all hazards, consented, relying for aid on his daughter, who posted some strong Tartar women belonging to the harem in readiness to seize the prince. Mohammed was suffered to take possession of the citadel in anticipation of the arrival of Aurungzebe, when intelligence came that he had suddenly ordered his cavalcade to change their course, and was gone to offer up his prayers at the tomb of Akber. Shah Jehan, enraged beyond measure, asked Mohammed what he had come for, if not to guard his father. The curt reply was, "to take charge of the citadel." The insulted monarch pointed to the imperial crown which was suspended above his head, and taking the Koran in his hand, swore that if Mohammed would release him, he would make him emperor, to the exclusion of all his own sons. The prince, from policy or principle, refused the offer, and quitted the presence of his grandfather —little dreaming how soon a stronger temptation would lead him to take the course from which he now turned.—(Bernier, vol. i., p. 72.) Khafi Khan, whose father was an actor in the turbulent scenes of this period, makes no mention of this plot and counter-plot.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 427.)

† *Tavernier's Travels* in various parts of the empire; Mandelsloe's in Guzerat; Graaf and Bruton's (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*) in Bengal, Behar and Orissa; afford forcible evidence of the grandeur of the Indian cities of this period, including those situated in remote provinces; and also to the richly-cultivated state of the surrounding country.

‡ The famous throne, of which the chief ornament was a peacock, with its tail spread, represented in its natural colours by various gems, was constructed for Shah Jehan; and a vine was commenced, with leaves and fruit of precious stones, whose rays were reflected from mirrors set in large pearls.

he really had any), induced him, by the two-fold temptation of wine and feminine seductions, to separate himself from his companions, some of whom appear to have warned him against placing such implicit trust in his brother's professions. While stretched on a couch, sleeping off the stupor of intoxication, Morad was seized, fettered, and sent off, before day-break, on an elephant, to Selimghur, a portion of the citadel of Delhi, while three other elephants were dispatched with similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to the actual place of confinement, which was afterwards changed to Gwalior, the Bastille of Hindoostan. The frankness and bravery of the unfortunate prince had rendered him popular with the army, but the suddenness of his seizure seems to have paralysed every effort on his behalf. His chief adherents were brought into the presence of Aurungzebe, who, after receiving their oaths of allegiance, proceeded to Delhi, where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title of Alumgeer (the Conqueror of the Universe), by which he is designated in local histories and documents.

The *Reign of Aurungzebe* had lasted a twelvemonth before his name was stamped on the coin, or the ceremonial of coronation performed. More pressing affairs claimed his whole attention during the interim. At the time of the fatal battle, Soliman, a brave prince of five-and-twenty, was marching to the aid of his father. Rajah Jey Sing, of Amber, who, like most of the Rajpoot leaders, had taken part with the lawful heir, was associated with the prince in the command; but the promises of the usurper, under whom he had served in Balkh, tempted him to abandon Soliman on a very flimsy pretext, as did also another general, named Dileer Khan. Deprived of the strength of his army, and scarcely able to retain any authority over the remainder, the prince endeavoured to avoid an encounter with the troops of Aurungzebe by taking the road under the mountains to join Dara; but being intercepted near Hurdwar, his soldiers lost heart, and all, except 500 horse, deserted. With this remnant Soliman proceeded to Sireenuggur, near Kumaon, where a new trial awaited him. The rajah refused to admit him, unless he would first dismiss his faithful followers; and to this proposition he was ultimately compelled to submit, after making an unavailing attempt to return to the fort of Allahabad, in which more than half of his little band perished. On entering the fort of Sireenuggur, with five or six attendants, he was courteously received, but soon found himself, in effect, a prisoner.

Meanwhile, Aurungzebe continued, in person, to pursue Dara. Having, during the early part of his flight, procured some troops at Delhi, the prince marched thence to Lahore, and finding a large sum of money in the royal treasury, began to raise an army. Shah Jehan had written urgently in his favour to the viceroy of Cabool, Mohabet Khan (son of the great general), and Dara, had he proceeded thither, would probably have found valuable auxiliaries in the troops of the province, or, in case of need, a ready refuge among the Afghan tribes, and an easy exit to the territories of the Uzbeks or the Persians. These views, even if entertained, were disconcerted by the prompt measures of Aurungzebe; and Dara, unable to resist the force by which he was threatened, left Lahore with three or four thousand men, on his way to Sinde. The emperor followed him nearly to Moultan; but before reaching that city he learned that Shuja was marching in force from Bengal; therefore, sending a detachment to follow Dara, he hastened to Delhi, and from thence set out to arrest the progress of the advancing army, comprising 25,000 horse and a numerous train of artillery. The brothers met at Cujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad, and drew up their forces, neither caring to begin the conflict. On this occasion, Aurungzebe was nearly worsted by arts similar to those he himself delighted to employ. Rajah Jeswunt Sing, after his unsuccessful efforts in favour of Dara, had received a message from the victor, with assurances of pardon, and a command to join the army then forming against Shuja. He feigned obedience, but it would appear only for the sake of watching an opportunity to serve the cause of the rightful heir, and his angry feelings were increased by the withholding of the rank to which he considered himself entitled. Having communicated his intentions to Shuja, Jeswunt Sing, one morning before day-break, attacked the rear-ward of the imperial camp with his Rahtore cavaliers; and, during the onset made shortly afterwards by the prince's army in front, the rajah deliberately loaded his camels with plunder, and marched off to Agra, leaving the brothers to a contest which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both. Notwithstanding

this inauspicious commencement, the self-possession and valour of Aurungzebe gained the day. The battle began by a cannonade, followed by a close action, in which he was repeatedly in imminent danger; but the centre of Shuja's troops was at length broken, and they fled, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants on the field. Mohammed Sultan and Meer Jumla (whose mock imprisonment had ceased so soon as his family were set free by the flight of Dara) were sent with a strong force to Bengal, while the emperor proceeded to Agra. The governor of this city, Shaista Khan, had just been relieved from great alarm; for the triumphant approach of Jeswunt Sing, added to discouraging reports from the field of battle, and various signs of popular feeling in favour of Shah Jehan, had so perplexed him that he would have swallowed poison, but for the timely interposition of his wife. Had Jeswunt at once attacked the citadel, the garrison would probably have surrendered, and the aged monarch been set at liberty; but the attempt was fraught with hazard; for besides the danger of shutting up his troops within the precincts of the capital, it would prevent his forming a junction with Dara, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action. Aurungzebe, on returning to Agra, had consequently the satisfaction of learning that Jeswunt had departed to his own territories in Marwar, whither he sent 10,000 men to seize his person and reclaim the spoils now safely housed within the castle of Joda. But this open hostility was soon changed for a policy more congenial to the character of the wily monarch. The affairs of Dara had taken an unlooked-for turn,—after being compelled, by the desertion of his followers and the death of his carriage-cattle, to relinquish his designs upon Sinde, the fugitive had, through the loyalty of the governor of Guzerat (Shah Nawaz Khan, father-in-law to both Aurungzebe and Morad), obtained possession of the whole province, including Surat and Baroach. The territories of Jeswunt Sing extended from Guzerat to Ajmeer: to prevent his forming the projected coalition with Dara, was, therefore, of the highest importance to Aurungzebe, who, laying aside his plans of vengeance for a more convenient season, instead of soldiers and musketry, sent the rajah a letter in his own hand-writing, full of flattery and blandishments, conceding the rank and office, the withholding of which had previously been a cause of irritation. This politic conduct, added to the delay of Dara, made Jeswunt falter in his resolve, and by the mediation of Jey Sing, Aurungzebe succeeded in persuading him to rely on his good faith, and keep aloof from a cause which could only end in the ruin of its object and all connected with him. Dara, disappointed of the expected co-operation, fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmeer, and there awaited the approach of his brother. Three days' cannonading was followed by a general assault, in which, after the lapse of many hours, Shah Nawaz fell just as a party of the imperial troops mounted the ramparts. The prince fled precipitately, attended by the females of his family and a small body of horse, and reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, after eight days* and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season, to which were latterly added the merciless attacks of the hill Coolies, who stripped or massacred every man separated from his companions. When within a march of Ahmedabad, Dara was informed that the gates were shut against him, and he must seek shelter elsewhere. Amid tears and lamentations the weary cavalcade resumed its toilsome progress; and after much loss of life in the desert, through hunger, thirst, and fatigue, at length reached the small territory of Joon, on the eastern frontier of Sinde. The chief of Joon,† apparently an Afghan, had been twice condemned to death for murder and treason, but saved from the vengeance of Shah Jehan by the intercession of Dara, who now relied upon his gratitude, notwithstanding the warnings and entreaties of his adherents. Dara's wife (the daughter of Prince Parvaez), who had been wounded in the late battle, and was fast sinking under suffering and fatigue, implored him to leave her, and prosecute without delay his journey to Persia. But the

* On the fourth day, Dara was met by Bernier, who was on his way to Delhi, unconscious of passing events. The sultana had been wounded, and there was no physician among the little band. The profession of the traveller being discovered, he was obliged to join Dara, and would have been taken on to Sinde, but that neither threats nor entreaties could procure a single horse, ox, or camel for his use. Having beheld the hapless prince and his family depart, Bernier, after a week's detention, succeeded in persuading the Coolies, "by a grand display of professional skill," to attach a bullock to his carriage and conduct him to Ahmedabad. (Vol. i. p. 106.)

† Called Jihon Khan in Brock's *Bernier*.

prince could not be prevailed upon to forsake his faithful companion in the trying hour of death, and after she had expired in his arms, he sent a portion of his small force, with two confidential servants, to attend her remains to Lahore. When the period of mourning permitted, he set out towards the Indus, accompanied by a brother of the chief of Joon and a body of troops, under pretence of escorting him to the frontier; but suddenly, the signal being given, Dara and his son, Seper Sheko, were seized and carried prisoners to Aurungzebe, who was then engaged in celebrating the anniversary of his accession. Loaded with chains, habited in coarse and dirty raiment, and mounted on a sorry elephant without housings, the royal captives were conducted through the most populous streets of the capital, amid the tears and groans of the people. No attempt at a rescue was made; but the next day the chief of Joon being recognised on his way to court, was nearly torn to pieces by the populace.* The leader of the tumult was executed; and shortly after, a mock consultation having been held by the chief counsellors and lawyers, Dara was pronounced worthy of death as an apostate Mohammedan. Aurungzebe gave his consent with affected reluctance, and selected a personal enemy of his brother's to carry the sentence into effect. When the assassins entered the prison, Dara and his son were occupied in preparing some lentils, the only food they would touch for fear of poison. Seizing a small kitchen knife, the sole weapon in his possession, Dara defended himself to the last; but being overwhelmed by numbers, was thrown down and decapitated. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant, and his head carried to Aurungzebe, who, having satisfied himself of its identity by washing the blood from the distorted features, affected to weep, and directed its interment in the tomb of Humayun. Seper Sheko was sent to the dreary fortress of Gwalior, whose gates soon afterwards opened to receive no less a person than Mohammed Sultan, the eldest son and acknowledged heir of Aurungzebe.

This prince had been betrothed to his cousin, the daughter of Shuja, but the marriage was broken off by the outburst of civil war. Seeing the critical position of her father, the princess addressed a communication to Mohammed, reminding him of their engagement; this appeal, added to his restless disposition and jealousy of Meer Jumla, who was associated with him in the command of the army, induced him to go over to his uncle, a step which he probably thought would be followed by the majority of the imperial army. Any such movement was prevented by the zeal and influence of Meer Jumla, and hostilities were recommenced at the conclusion of the rainy season. Shuja received his nephew with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but either from the machinations of Aurungzebe,† or some other cause not satisfactorily explained, distrust sprang up between them, and the prince again deserted his party, and threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who immediately sent him to Gwalior. After a series of unsuccessful struggles, Shuja retreated to Dacca, and being hotly pursued by Meer Jumla, fled, with a few attendants, to Arracan. The remainder of his history is very imperfectly known. A difference is said to have arisen between him and the rajah, whose avarice was roused by the sight of the wealth of the prince, and, on one pretext or another, he was prevented from hiring vessels in which to proceed to Mokha, *en route* for Mecca. Shuja, irritated by this treatment, entered into a plot with the Mussulmans of the country to overturn the existing government; but, being detected, was seized by the rajah's emissaries, and put to death. Of his wife and family, no certain particulars were ever made public in Hindoostan; but it is probable they all perished by violence about the same time.‡

* When returning to his own country, laden with the price of blood, he was waylaid and assassinated.

† Dow asserts (but without giving his authority, who is evidently neither Khafi Khan nor Bernier) that Aurungzebe wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to an appeal for forgiveness, and caused it to fall into the hands of Shuja, who, thereupon, dismissed his son-in-law and daughter from the camp, not crediting their protestations of innocence.

‡ Bernier, vol. i., p. 124. According to Dow, Shuja and his son, after bravely defending the mountain passes while endeavouring to make good their retreat to Pegu, were overpowered by means of stones hurled upon them from the adjoining rocks. Shuja was drowned (the doom of royal criminals in Arracan) in sight of his wife and daughters, who, in despair, flung themselves headlong into the river, but were rescued and carried to the palace. Of these four unhappy ladies, three perished by their own hands; the fourth was married to the rajah, but did not long survive her sufferings and disgrace. The elder son of Shuja and his infant brother were both put to death. Shah Jehan, on learning the melancholy intelligence, exclaimed, "Alas! could not the rajah of Arracan leave one son to Shuja to revenge his grandfather?"—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 390.)

At the commencement of 1661, Aurungzebe obtained possession of the person of Dara's eldest son, Soliman; the Rajah of Sreenuggur, after prolonged negotiations, having been at length persuaded, by the arguments of Jey Sing, to deliver up the prince to the imperial officers. He was paraded through the city on an elephant, and then brought into the presence of his uncle in golden fetters. Bernier, who was present, describes his manly bearing as having affected many of the courtiers to tears; and when he implored that his life might be taken at once, rather than that his strength and reason should be undermined by the hateful opium draught* (which he evidently believed to be the common fate of captive princes), even Aurungzebe seemed touched with compassion, and assured him of safety and good treatment.

It is not likely that this pledge was redeemed; for Soliman, together with his brother, Seper Sheko, and the young son of Morad, all died in Gwalior within a short space of time, while the emperor's own son, Mohammed, lived several years, and was eventually restored to comparative freedom. The doom of Morad was less easily decided; for it was necessary to Aurungzebe's views that his death should be well known; and the convenient method of poisoning him in prison might leave a doubt regarding his fate on the public mind, which, in the event of a political crisis, would be eagerly seized by agitators or pretenders. The prince was popular, despite (or probably on account of) his misfortunes: he had endeavoured to escape by means of a rope let down from the battlements;† and Aurungzebe felt that there was no time to lose in compassing his destruction. The son of a man who had been arbitrarily put to death by the prince, while viceroy of Guzerat, was incited to complain against him as a murderer; and, after the formality of a trial and sentence, the last act of this family tragedy closed with the execution of Prince Morad, in prison. The three brothers of Aurungzebe and their brave sons had now all fallen victims to his ambition and their own, goaded on by the hateful policy which too often leaves to eastern princes little choice beyond a throne or a grave. Their aged parent, by a terrible retribution, sickened with horror as the tidings of one catastrophe after another slowly reached him within the walls of his palace-prison. He execrated the name of the son whose crimes had thus cast his own into the shade, and would not suffer his presence. Aurungzebe made repeated overtures of reconciliation by affecting to seek his advice on various affairs of state, and ventured to proffer two requests—the first on behalf of his third son, Prince Akber, for the hand of the daughter of Dara, then under the protection of her aunt Jehanara; the second, for some of the jewels retained by Shah Jehan, for the decoration of the throne. The deposed monarch indignantly rejected both demands, declaring that his granddaughter should never, with his consent, be thus degraded; and the maiden, on her part, avowed her purpose of self-destruction, should force be attempted to ally her with the son of her father's murderer. With regard to the jewels, Shah Jehan sternly bade his son make wisdom and equity the ornaments of his throne, and use no importunity to obtain the coveted gems, since the hammers were in readiness which should, in that case, crush them to powder. Aurungzebe prudently gave way, and his father, gratified by this submission, and by the ample provision made for his expenditure, afterwards sent him various articles more especially connected with the insignia of royalty.

The early measures of the new emperor were well calculated to obliterate from the minds of his subjects the monstrous iniquities above detailed. In the Deccan he had gained a high character for justice as well as austerity; and on grasping the reins of government, he evinced a determination to make the welfare of the people his leading object. In marching to battle against Dara, Aurungzebe had strenuously restrained his soldiers from plundering the countries through which they passed, and had even given compensation for the damage unavoidably occasioned. During a terrible famine which prevailed over different parts of India, resulting from the combined effects of drought and civil war, he made great exertions for the relief of the wretched sufferers, by remitting the taxes, and spending large sums from the treasury in the pur-

* Bernier calls it pousta, and says it was simply a strong infusion of poppy-heads, which the intended victims were compelled to drink daily until they became torpid and senseless, and so died.

† Khafi Khan, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 451. It is to be regretted that no complete translation has been made of the works of this author, whose real name was Mohammed Hashem Khan. He was brought up in the service of Aurungzebe, by whom both he and his father (also an historian) were employed in various important military and diplomatic positions.

chase and conveyance of grain, from Bengal and the Punjaub, to the chief seats of distress. This calamity having passed over, the emperor found leisure to plan the extension of his dominions, resting the justification, alike of past and future aggression, on the duty of propagating the Koran by all and every means. One quality, essential to the character of a statesman, or even a successful general, he wanted—namely, confidence in his fellow-men. It was the fitting curse of this arch-hypocrite, that suspicion should lie like the canker-worm at the root of his best-laid plans, occasioning the harassing distrust, or at least the want of cordial support to which the reverses of his generals may be for the most part attributed.

Towards the end of 1661, a successful expedition was despatched against the Rajah of Bikaneer; and early in the following year, Meer Jumla, whose talents were at once the dread and admiration of his distrustful master, was sent to attempt the subjugation of Assam. Having obtained possession of the capital, the victor boastfully declared his intention of pursuing his conquests, and opening the way to China. The rainy season brought with it a change of affairs. The rich plains on either side the Burrampootra were flooded; the cavalry could not march or even forage; and when the floods subsided, a pestilence broke out among the troops, so that Meer Jumla was glad to make terms with the rajah, renounce his magnificent projects, and withdraw his army. Before reaching Dacca he expired (January 7, 1663), stung by disappointment, and worn down by the fatigues which, despite the burden of advanced age, he had shared in common with the humblest soldier. His son, Mohammed Ameen, was immediately raised to the rank enjoyed by the deceased. Aurungzebe himself had recently received a forcible warning of the precarious tenure by which emperors and peasants alike hold, not merely worldly possessions, but life itself. A dangerous attack of fever completely prostrated him, and his tongue became so palsied as to deprive him almost entirely of the power of speech. Intrigues regarding the succession arose immediately; but Aurungzebe clung to political even more tenaciously than to physical existence, and during the crisis of his disorder, caused himself to be carried into the diurnal assembly of the nobles. Some days after, when scarcely recovered from a swoon (so long and deep that his death was generally reported), he sent for Rajah Jey Sing, and two or three other chief omrahs, to convince them that he lived; and in their presence, being still unable to articulate, wrote an order for the great seal, which had been placed in the charge of the Princess Roushenara, enclosed in a bag, and impressed with the signet which had remained fastened to his arm. These manifestations of a strong will triumphing over bodily weakness, inspired fear and admiration in the beholders, and had the desired effect of preventing any plots for the rescue of Shah Jehan, or conspiracies for less worthy ends. When convalescent, Aurungzebe sought repose and change of scene in Cashmere, little thinking of the fierce and prolonged strife about to burst forth in the Deccan, mainly in consequence of his own insidious policy. By gradually undermining the strength of the two remaining Mohammedan kingdoms of the south, he had anticipated their reduction to a state of enfeeblement and disorganisation, which must render them an easy conquest so soon as he should find leisure to take the field in person at the head of an extensive and powerful army. Meanwhile, he cared not to trust Jey Sing, Jeswunt Sing, Dileer Khan, or any other general, much less his own son, Mauzim, with a sufficient force for the reduction of these kingdoms, lest he should furnish weapons against himself: the troops placed under their command were, therefore, skilfully calculated as sufficient to maintain a distressing and desultory warfare, but nothing more. The imperial schemer had not a suspicion that in thus, as it were, drawing the claws of the Moslem rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, he could possibly be serving the interest of a third party, as intriguing and hardly less bigotted than himself, though in a precisely opposite direction.

Rise of Mahratta power.—It will be remembered, that in sketching the ancient condition of India, the Mahrattas have been mentioned as inhabiting the territory lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindya chain; and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Beder to Chanda on the Wurda; that river being the eastern, and the sea the western boundary. This singular country will be described in a subsequent section, as also its inhabitants, of whom it is here only necessary to remark, that the soldiery were small sturdy men, active and persevering, posses-

sing nothing of the chivalrous sentiments or dignified bearing of the Rajpoots, but a great deal more worldly wisdom. The chiefs, in the time of the Great Moguls, were the representatives of families who had for generations filled the old Hindoo offices of heads of villages, or functionaries of districts, under the names of *patels*, *desmookhs*, &c., and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednugger and Beejapoor. They were nearly all Soodras, of the same caste with their people, but some claimed to have Rajpoot blood in their veins. Though our present knowledge does not show that the Mahrattas formed at any time an united commonwealth, their strongly marked characteristics indicate a broad line of demarcation between them and the people of Carnara and Telingana, and also between the lower orders of Hindoostan; although the difference in this latter case is less striking. Mussulman writers, proverbially slow to recognise differences among infidels, scarcely notice the Mahrattas by this distinctive appellation until the beginning of the seventeenth century; although the surnames of chiefs, mentioned at earlier periods, prove their having belonged to that race. In the time of Malek Amber they first emerge into notice; and, under his government, the noblest of them, Lookjee* Jadu Rao, held a jaghire for the support of 10,000 men. Among his dependants was Malojee Bhoslay, a man of inferior rank, who, by a singular chain of circumstances,† obtained Jeejee Bye, the daughter of Jadu, in marriage for his son Shahjee, A.D. 1604; and the issue of this union was two children, of whom the younger was the famous Sevajee. Shahjee has been mentioned as an important actor in the concluding events of the Ahmednuggur state. He was subsequently employed by the king of Beejapoor on conquests to the southward, and obtained a considerable jaghire in the Mysore country, including the towns of Sera and Bangalore, in addition to that he had previously possessed, of which the chief place was Poona.

Three years after the birth of Sevajee (in 1627), a disagreement arose between his parents, on account of a second marriage being contracted by Shahjee, who took his elder son with him to the Mysore, leaving the younger with his mother at Poona.

As all Mahratta chiefs were wholly illiterate, they usually retained a number of Brahmins in their service, styled *Carcoons*, or clerks, who were necessarily entrusted with their most private affairs. One of this class, Dadajee Konedeo, a man of talent and integrity, was left by Shahjee in charge of the Poona jaghire; and from him and his mother, Sevajee imbibed a deep and bitter hatred against the Mohammedans. The exploits of the heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabarat, with other wild and fantastic legends, were the boy's delight; he performed with earnest zeal the numerous observances enjoined by his creed, and anxiously waited the time when he should be old enough and strong enough to assert the rights and dignity of the insulted gods of his country. These feelings, in part, supplied the want of a more enlightened and exalted patriotism; and they afforded to Sevajee an object and a rallying point, of which, in after years, he learned the value. Like the mail-clad barons of old England, Shahjee deemed all book-learning undignified, if not degrading drudgery; and his son could never so much as write his name. In horsemanship, and the use of warlike weapons, he was unrivalled.

Poona is situated at the junction of the hilly country with the plains; hence Sevajee, in the hunting parties and military exercises, which formed his chief occupations, constantly associated with the soldiery in his father's service, and the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghauts. The Bheels and Coolies, to the north of Poona —the Ramooscs to the south—viewed with admiration the young chief, to whom every glen and defile of their mountain recesses were well known; but his earliest adherents were the Mahrattas, called Mawulees, from the appellation of the valleys which they

* *Jee* is the Mahratta adjunct of respect, equivalent to our Mr. *Bye*, signifies lady.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 121.)

† When Shahjee was about five years old, he was taken by his father to the house of Jadu Rao, where a large number of Hindoos of all castes had assembled to celebrate a religious festival. Pleased with the boy's bearing, Jadu merrily asked his daughter, a pretty child of three years' old, whether she would take her play-fellow for a husband; and the little maiden, by throwing at him some of the red colour at hand, in accordance with the usages of the festival, seemed to express assent. To the astonishment of all present, Malojee instantly started up, and desired the company to bear witness that Jeejee Bye and Shahjee were affianced. Jadu was exceedingly indignant at the advantage taken of him; but Malojee persisted in his claim, and being an active partisan, rose gradually in the service of the state of Ahmednuggur, and by the intercession of the king himself, eventually obtained the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire.

inhabited immediately to the west of Pooua. Before he was sixteen, Sevajee began to talk of becoming an independent poligar, to the serious alarm of Dadajee, who endeavoured to wean him from his lawless associates by confiding much of the affairs of the jaghire to his superiutendence, and tried earnestly to convince him that a much more brilliant destiny might be expected to await him, as a steady adhereut of the Ahmednuggur government, than as a rebel. But the twig was already beut, and would grow only in one direction; and, in spite of the popularity gaiued by the courteous and winning manner of Sevajee among the respectable Mahrattas in the neighbourhood, it was whispered that he was a sharer in the profits of several extensive gang-robberies committed in the Concan.

The hill-forts possessed by Beejapoor, like most others under Moslem rule, were much neglected. Being remote and unhealthy, they were sometimes occupied by a single foreign commander, with a small garrison of ill-paid local troops; or, in other cases, left in charge of the nearest desmookh, or other revenue-officer. Our adventurer saw the opportunity afforded by this state of things for his plans of gradual and insidious aggression; and by some means, not precisely known, succeeded in getting possession of Torna, a hill-fortress, twenty miles S.W. of Pooua, A.D. 1646. He immediately sent ambassadors to Beejapoor, representing his conduct in the most favourable light, and, by dint of arguments and bribery, was suffered to retain possession unmolested for several years, until it became known that he had built a stronghold on a neighbouring hill, by the aid of a golden treasure supposed to have been miraculously discovered to him, among some ruins at Torna, by the goddess Bhavani. A serious remonstrance was addressed to Shahjee, who wrote in strong terms to Dadajee and his son, remindiug them of the danger to which he was exposed by their encroachments, and bidding them desist from all such attempts. Dadajee once more essayed to change the settled purpose of his young master; but soon afterwards, when about to expire, worn out with age and anxiety, he bestowed on him a parting benediction; and instead of further dissuasion, bade him protect Brahmins, kine and cultivators, preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation, and—follow the fortune which lay before him.

These injunctions were obeyed to the letter. Under pretence of the poverty of the country and its increasing expenditure, Sevajee withheld the revenue from his father, and proceeded step by step, by manœuvring and bribery, to gain fort after fort; until at length, as before stated (p. 130), he had gained possession of the whole tract between the Chakun and the Neera, without bloodshed or any disturbance. "The manner in which he established himself," says Grant Duff, "watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring upon his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he exteuded his power when his progress had attracted notice, and longer concealment was impossible." In 1648, Sevajee thought fit to throw down the gauntlet of open rebellion, by attacking and pillaging a convoy of royal treasure on the road to Callian; and the news had scarcely reached Beejapoor, before it was followed by tidings, that five of the priucipal hill-forts in the Ghauts, and subsequently Callian, and the whole of the northern Concau, were iu the occupation of the same insidious foe.

Shahjee was seized and brought before Mohammed Adil Shah, who, heedless of his assurances that his son was acting in his defiance, as much as in that of their mutual sovereign, imprisoned him in a stone dungeon, of which he caused the door to be walled up, declaring, that if the insurrection coutinued beyond a certain time, the remaining aperture should be likewise closed. Sevajee was extremely alarmed by this menace, and is alleged to have been only dissuaded from submission by the arguments of his wife, who urged that his father's liberty might more probably be wrung by necessity from the king of Beejapoor, than obtained by blind reliance on the promises of a power so notoriously treacherous. He therefore maintained his position, and made overtures to Shah Jehan, who received his application the more favourably, as the wily Mahratta, anxious to leave himself a resource in the event of being hard pressed by his own government, had carefully avoided inroads on Mogul territory. It was probably by the iutercessiou of the emperor that Shahjee was released from his dungeon; but four years elapsed before he was permitted to leave Beejapoor: at the expiration of which

time his presence in the Carnatic became necessary to the interests of the government, on account of an extensive insurrection, in which his eldest son had been slain. The restoration of Shahjee to his jaghire was the signal for the renewal of Sevajee's plans of aggrandisement. During the previous interval, he had delayed entering the imperial service, by preferring an hereditary claim to certain dues on land in the Joonere and Ahmednuggur districts, which he affected to desire to see settled before proceeding to Delhi. His first step, on resuming open hostilities against the Beejapoor state, was to seize the hilly country south of Poona, whose rajah, having refused to co-operate with him, he had allowed to be removed by assassination. The arrival of Aurungzebe in the Deccan, in 1655, somewhat disconcerted Sevajee, who at first addressed the prince as his suzerain; but, on seeing him engaged in war with Golconda, thought to profit by the general confusion, and, for the first time, invaded the Mogul dominions. He surprised and plundered the town of Joonere; but a similar attempt upon Ahmednugger proved less successful: and, alarmed by the rapid conquests of the imperial troops, Sevajee sought, by excuses and promises, to obtain forgiveness for his recent proceedings. At this crisis the illness of Shah Jehan suddenly called off Aurungzebe to Delhi; and the Mahratta chief, taking advantage of his departure, immediately renewed his attacks on Beejapoor, where the king had been succeeded by his son, a minor. A large army was despatched, (A.D. 1659), under the command of a noble, named Afzool Khan, who, at his public audience of leave, boastfully declared that he would bring back the insignificant rebel, and cast him in chains under the footstool of the throne. Sevajee was informed of the vaunt of his opponent, with whose character he was acquainted, and concerted his measures accordingly. On the approach of the hostile force, he took up his residence in the hill-fort of Pertabghur, and sent offers of submission, couched in the humblest terms, to Afzool Khan, who deputed a Brahmin, high in his confidence, to complete the negotiation. This man, Sevajee, during a private interview by night, contrived to win over to his cause, which he affirmed to be that of the Hindoos and the Hindoo faith. By their joint artifice, the haughty Moslem was persuaded that Sevajee's excessive alarm could only be overcome by his personal assurances of mediation at the court of Beejapoor, and he readily consented to leave the army and advance to meet the repentant rebel. In compliance with the suggestion of the treacherous Brahmin, the 1,500 men, who had escorted their general to within a few hundred yards of the fort, were forbidden to proceed further, for fear of exciting the apprehensions of Sevajee. Accompanied by a single armed attendant, Afzool Khan advanced to the appointed place of meeting, and, descending from his palanquin, entered the open bungalow prepared for his reception, where, clad in thin white robes, with a straight sword in his hand, he impatiently awaited the arrival of Sevajee, whose figure (unpretending, from its diminutive size, and rendered ungainly by the extreme length of the arms) was seen descending the heights with slow and hesitating steps. His only follower carried two swords in his waistband, a common circumstance among the Mahrattas; but Sevajee himself was seemingly unprovided with any offensive or defensive weapon, although secretly prepared for deadly strife. The convenient axiom for evil-doers—that the end justifies the means—had induced the Mahratta chief to proceed on this occasion as if about to attempt an act of heroic self-devotion, instead of a treacherous assassination. After performing, with earnest solemnity, his morning devotions, he laid his head at the feet of his mother (Jeejee Bye), and having received her blessing, arose and equipped himself in a suit of chain armour, over which he placed his turban and a cotton tunic. His right sleeve concealed a crooked dagger, named from its form a "beechwa," or scorpion, and his left-hand held a small steel instrument, called a "wagnuck," or tiger-claw, on account of its three crooked blades, which are easily hidden by half-closed fingers. Thus provided, Sevajee approached the khan, and, at the moment of the embrace, struck the wagnuck into his body; then, instantly following up the blow, dispatched him with his dagger. The attendant of Afzool refused quarter, and fell vainly endeavouring to avenge his ill-fated master. The blast of a horn and the firing of five guns announced the unhallowed triumph of Sevajee to the Mawulees. They rushed from the different wooded recesses, where they had been posted, upon the Beejapoor troops, who, suddenly roused from fancied security, were slaughtered or dispersed almost without resistance. Numbers were driven by hunger into a sur-

render, after long wandering in the neighbouring wilds, and all were humanely received by Sevajee, who, throughout his whole career, was remarkable for gentle treatment of prisoners, always excepting such as were suspected of concealing treasure, in which case, like the Great Moguls, he resorted to torture without stint or scruple.

By this violent deed, Sevajee gained possession of the whole train of equipment which had been sent against him, and many of the Mahrattas were induced to enlist in his service; but the most distinguished captive of that nation having steadily refused to renounce his allegiance, was honourably dismissed with costly presents. From this period, up to the close of 1662, Sevajee was engaged in hostilities with the king of Beejapoor, who took the field against him in person; but, after recovering much territory, was compelled to turn his chief attention to a revolt in the Carnatic, upon which the Mahratta chief regained his former conquests, with usury, and succeeded, through Shahjee's mediation, in obtaining a peace, by which he was recognised as master of the whole coast-line of the Concan for 250 miles (between Goa and Callian), and extending above the Ghauts for more than 150 miles from the north of Poona to the south of Merich on the Kistna. The extreme breadth of this territory did not exceed 100 miles. The hardiness and predatory habits of his soldiery, enabled Sevajee to support an army of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot (a much larger force than the size of his country would seem to warrant), and he soon prepared to take advantage of his truce with Beejapoor, by extending his dominion at the expense of the Moguls.

To put an end to these aggressions, Shaista Khan (viceroy of the Deccan, and the emperor's maternal uncle) marched from Aurungabad, drove the marauding force from the field, captured Poona and Chakun, and took up his position at the former place, within twelve miles of Singhur, the hill-fort to which Sevajee had retired. The house occupied by the viceroy had been originally built by Dadajee for Jeejee Bye, and her son resolved to take advantage of his perfect acquaintance with its every inlet and outlet, by surprising the intruder, notwithstanding his well-planned precautions. Leaving Singhur one evening after dark, and posting small bodies of infantry on the road to support him, Sevajee, attended by twenty-five Mawulces, proceeded to the town, into which he gained admission by joining a marriage procession, planned for the purpose. By the aid of a few pickaxes, the party succeeded in entering the mansion, but not without awakening some of the women of the family, who gave the alarm. Shaista Khan escaped from the window of his bedchamber, having first received a sword-cut, which severed two of his fingers, while letting himself down into the court below. His son, and most of his attendants, were cut to pieces in a moment, after which Sevajee retreated with all speed, and ascended Singhur amid a blaze of torches, in full view of the Mogul camp.

On the following morning, a body of the enemy's horse came galloping towards the fort, but were driven off in confusion; and on this occasion the Mahrattas, for the first time, pursued the Mogul cavalry. Shaista Khan, blinded by grief and mortification, instead of taking active measures against Sevajee, accused Jeswunt Sing (who had not long before arrived with re-inforcements) of treachery; and the dissensions of the leaders crippled the movements of the army, until Aurungzebe removed Shaista Khan to Bengal, and sent Prince Mauzim to command in conjunction with the rajah.

After a feeble attempt to invest Singhur, Jeswunt retired to Aurungabad; and Sevajee, glad to be released from the necessity of standing on the defensive, having spread several false reports of his intentions, set off with 4,000 horse, surprised the rich and defenceless city of Surat, and, after six days of systematic plunder, leisurely proceeded to Raighur, a newly-erected fort in the Concan, which became thenceforth the seat of his government. The booty acquired at Surat was very considerable, and would have been greater, but for the determined defence made at the English and Dutch factories, where some of the native chiefs had taken refuge. The English, especially, gained much favour with Aurungzebe, who granted them a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat.*

At Raighur, Sevajee learned the death of Shahjee, who, although of a great age, con-

* It seemed necessary to notice this circumstance here; but the progress of European power, until the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, so little affected the general state of India, that I have thought it best, for the sake of clearness, to reserve an account of it for a brief separate sketch.

tinued to pursue his favourite diversion of hunting, until he was killed by a fall from his horse, A.D. 1664. He had restored his jaghire to perfect order, and extended his dominions to the southward, with the tacit permission of the king of Beejapoor, until they comprehended the country near Madras, and the principality of Tanjore. Sevajee now assumed the title of rajah, struck coins in his own name, and carried on hostilities alternately against the Beejapoor and imperial authorities. He collected a fleet, took many Mogul ships, and exacted ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding therein towards Mecca. On one occasion he embarked with a force of 4,000 men, in eighty-seven vessels, and made an unexpected descent on the wealthy town of Barcelore, about 130 miles below Goa, plundered all the adjacent territory, and returned in triumph to his mountain capital. His homeward voyage was, however, prolonged for many days by adverse winds, which, with several other unfavourable circumstances, were interpreted as indications of the displeasure of the goddess Bhavani, at this the only naval enterprise in which Sevajee ever in person engaged. Alarming intelligence awaited his return. Aurungzebe at length resolved to punish the sacrilegious conduct of "the mountain rat," as he contemptuously styled the Mahratta chief; had sent a powerful force against him under Jey Sing and Dileer Khan, with orders, after his subjugation, to proceed against Beejapoor. Sevajee, for once taken by surprise (in consequence of the neglect or treachery of one of his own commanders), held out for some time, and then opened a negotiation with Jey Sing, who assured him, "on the honour of a Rajpoot," of safety, and even favour, on the part of the emperor, in return for entire submission and co-operation. This guarantee, even Sevajee deemed sufficient; and he proceeded, with a few attendants, to the Mogul camp, and agreed to deliver up twenty of the forts which he possessed, together with the territories attached thereto. Raighur and eleven others, with the dependent country, he was to hold as a jaghire from Aurungzebe, in whose service his son, Sumbajee—a boy, seven years old—was to receive the rank of a munsubdar of 5,000; and, probably in lieu of the alleged hereditary claims which he had so pertinaciously asserted, Sevajee stipulated for certain assignments (Chout and Surdeshmooki) on the revenue of each district under Beejapoor; an arrangement which laid the foundation of the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in after-times.

No mention is made of this condition in the letter written by Aurungzebe to Sevajee, in which he distinctly confirmed every other article of the treaty; nor in the subsequent communications, in which he highly commended the conduct of Sevajee and his 10,000 followers during the invasion of Beejapoor by Jey Sing, and invited him to court, with a promise of returning at pleasure to the Deccan.

The wily Mahratta was, in this instance, duped by the equally wily Mogul, and, at the termination of the campaign, set off for Delhi, accompanied by his son, and escorted by 1,500 men. Aurungzebe thought his foe secure within his grasp; and instead of acting as Akber would have done, by surpassing in courtesy and generosity the expectations he had raised, and binding to him the now submissive chief by the ties of self-interest, at least, if not of gratitude,—he broke every pledge, received him with marked disrespect, and caused him to be placed among the commanders of the third rank, in the very position promised to his child. Overpowered by rage and mortification, Sevajee sank to the ground in a swoon, and, on recovering his senses, bitterly reproached Ram Sing with the breach of his father Jey Sing's plighted faith; and then, declaring that life was valueless to him without honour, abruptly quitted the imperial presence.

Aurungzebe, astounded by this unexpected display of vehemence, refused again to receive the Mahratta, who requested permission to return to the Deccan, but, not obtaining it, affected to be quite cast down, and begged that his followers at least might be suffered to depart, as the air and water of Delhi injured their health. This solicitation was gladly complied with, and Sevajee seemed completely at the mercy of his foes. But Ram Sing, feeling his father's honour compromised by the conduct of Aurungzebe, connived at the escape of the captive, who, having taken to his bed on pretence of sickness, caused himself and his son to be conveyed by night out of the house and city in two large hampers, which the guards suffered to pass without examination, having been purposely accustomed to see similar baskets sent to and fro, filled with sweetmeats, flowers, &c., as presents to the Brahmins and physicians. His couch was occupied by a servant, and his flight remained undiscovered till a late hour on the following

day. In the meantime, Sevajee repaired to an obscure spot, where a swift horse had been posted in readiness, and rode off with his son behind him. At Muttra he shaved off his hair and whiskers, assumed the disguise of a Gosaen, or Hindoo religious mendicant, and leaving Sumbajee under the charge of a Brahmin, pursued his journey by the most obscure and circuitous roads, arriving at Raighur in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months. Tidings of his recovered liberty reached the Deccan long before his arrival; and the English factors at Carwar, in the Concan, wrote, September 29th—"If it be true that Sevajee has escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

Shah Jehan died about this time, and his favourite child, Padshah Begum, or Jehanara, was formally reconciled to her brother, whose fortunes were then in the zenith of prosperity. Tranquillity prevailed throughout his territories, the limits of which had been extended by the acquisition of Little Thibet, to the north, and Chittagong, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Some questions of etiquette had arisen with Shah Abbas II., of Persia, which threatened to involve a war with India, and preparations were being made, but set aside in consequence of the death of the Shah. The sole drawback on the general success of the empire was the ill-fortune of its army at Beejapoor, where the king had resorted to the old plan of defence, by reducing the surrounding country to a desert. Jey Sing, after investing the capital, was compelled to withdraw with loss to Aurungabad. Being soon after recalled, he died on the road to Delhi, having (according to Tod) been poisoned by his second son, at the instigation of Aurungzebe, who promised that he should succeed to the raj (or kingdom) of Mewar, to the prejudice of his elder brother, Ram Sing; but, when the crime was committed, withheld the promised reward, giving the parricide only the district of Kamah,* and offering no opposition to the claims of the rightful heir. Jeswunt Sing was now associated in command of the troops with Prince Mauzim and Dileer Khan—an arrangement which proved very advantageous to Sevajee; for Jeswunt exercised great ascendancy over the mind of the prince, and was secretly better disposed towards the Hindoos than to the government he served. By his mediation a treaty was concluded, A.D. 1667, on highly favourable terms for Sevajee, to whom a considerable portion of territory was restored, a new jaghire granted in Berar, and his title of rajah recognised. Aurungzebe confirmed these extraordinary concessions in the hope of deluding Sevajee again into his power: with this view the Mogul leaders were enjoined to keep up a constant intercourse with him, and even directed to feign disaffection to their own government, and a disposition to enter into a separate alliance with the Mahrattas. The emperor long patiently waited the result of his scheme; but at length discovering or suspecting the truth—namely, that his intended victim had turned his weapons against himself, by conciliating both the prince and rajah by bribes and gifts—he renewed hostilities by giving orders for an open attempt to seize his person, A.D. 1670. During the preceding prolonged truce, Sevajee, after obtaining from Beejapoor and Golconda the promise of an annual tribute, had laid aside his sword, and diligently employed himself in giving a regular form to his government. His great and varied talents were never displayed in a more forcible light than when exerted in domestic administration; and his rules were rigorously enforced, whether framed to check oppression of the cultivators† or fraud against the government. In the arrangement of the army, the most careful attention to method and economy was manifest. Both troops and officers received high pay, but were obliged to give up their plunder of every description to the state, or to retain it at a fixed price.

The trump of war again sounded in the ears of the miserable inhabitants of the Deccan. Sevajee recovered Singhur near Poona, plundered Surat anew, carried his ravages over Candeish, and levied the famous "chout," which, like the black mail of Scottish border warfare, exempted from plunder the districts in which it was regularly paid. He equipped a powerful fleet, and resumed his attacks on the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, which induced them to seek the protection of the Moguls. These successes were, in great measure, attributable to the inadequacy of the opposing force. Aurungzebe at length convinced of this, sent 40,000 men, under Mohabet Khan, to the scene of action, but quite independent of the authority of Prince

* *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 355.

† Sevajee's assessments were made on the actual state of the crop, of which he is alleged to have taken two-fifths.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 231.)

Mauzim, whose fidelity he doubted, and with whom he left Dileer Khan, but recalled Jeswunt Sing. The consequence of this divided command was the total defeat of 20,000 Moguls, A.D. 1672, in a field-action with the Mahrattas. Mauzim and Mohabet were recalled, and Khan Jehan Bahadur, the viceroy of Guzerat, sent to take their place; but active hostilities were soon dropped by mutual consent, the energies of both Aurungzebe and Sevajee* being fully employed in other quarters.

The emperor's attention was drawn off by the increasing importance of a war which had been going on for some time with the north-eastern Afghans, including the Eusofzies. In 1670, an army under Ameen Khan, the governor of Cabool, had been totally destroyed; and, about the same time, a king was set up by the Afghans, who is represented by European writers as an impostor, assuming to be the murdered Prince Shuja; but is described, by Indian authorities, as an Afghan chief. In 1673, the emperor proceeded to direct, in person, the military operations of his troops, accompanied by his son, Mohammed Sultan, who was now released from prison; but, at the close of two years of unsatisfactory effort, he returned to Delhi, and a very imperfect settlement was afterwards arranged with the Afghans.

In 1676, an insurrection of an extraordinary character broke out near the capital, originating in the disorderly conduct of some soldiers of the police, who had mobbed and beaten a Hindoo devotee of the sect of quietists, called Sadhs or Satnamis, in consequence of a quarrel between him and one of their comrades. The Satnamis came to the rescue, several lives were lost, and the affray increased until the numbers of both parties became considerable. The devotees took possession of the town of Narnol, and maintained it, defeating two separate detachments sent against them from Delhi. The idea gained ground that they were endowed with supernatural powers; that swords would not cut, nor bullets pierce them, while their weapons dealt death at every blow. From standing on the defensive, they took an aggressive part, and were joined by several of the neighbouring zemindars. The growing belief in their invincibility seemed likely to justify its assertion; for no troops could be induced to face them; and, on learning their approach to Delhi, Aurungzebe found it necessary to order his tents to be prepared to take the field, and, with his own hand, wrote extracts from the Koran, to be fastened to the standards as a protection against enchantment. The royal force made a stand, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the Hindoo inhabitants of Ajmeer and Agra to take up arms, and it was with difficulty that order could be restored in these provinces. Instead of the conciliatory measures which were imperatively needed, Aurungzebe, chafed by recent occurrences, took the only step necessary for the complete alienation of the minds of his Hindoo subjects, by reviving the jezia (capitation tax on infidels) abolished by Akber. In vain the populace assembled in crowds round the palace; no notice was taken of their tears and complaints. Determined that their appeal should be no longer ignored, they intercepted the emperor on his way in procession to the mosque; but the stern command was given to force a path, and many of the suppliants were trampled under the feet of the horses and elephants. The tax was submitted to without further demur, but the good-will of the Hindoos was gone for ever: in the Deccan every one of them became at heart a partisan of the Mahrattas; and the little fanning needed to blow into a flame the long-smouldering discontent of the Rajpoots was given within a few months of the imposition of the hated jezia.

Rajah Jeswunt Sing died at Cabool, and his widow immediately set out for India, without waiting the permission of Aurungzebe, who made this insubordination a pretext for endeavouring to seize her two infant sons.† By the ingenuity of Durga Das, the Hindoo leader, the rani and her children were enabled to escape to Marwar, over which principality the elder of the boys, Ajeet Sing, lived to enjoy a long reign, and became a formidable enemy to the Great Mogul.‡ Ram Sing, of Jeypoor or Amber, remained faithful to the master who had so

* Sevajee is said to have given a large sum of money to Khan Jehan, part privately, and part publicly: the Mogul styled the latter, tribute; but the Hindoo called it "oil-cake given to his milch cow."

† The three eldest sons of Jeswunt Sing had perished: two, it is alleged, in consequence of the inclement climate of Cabool. The third, a youth of great promise, expired suddenly at Delhi in extreme torture, owing to a poisoned robe of honour bestowed on him by the perfidious emperor.—(*Rajast'han.*)

‡ Another female and two infants were captured by Aurungzebe, the Rajpoots sacrificing their lives freely, as if the supposititious family had been really the widow and orphans of the deceased rajah.

little deserved such loyalty; but Raj Sing,* the rana of Oudipoor, entered heartily into the cause of the children of Jeswunt Sing, and refused to agree to the jezia. A long and tedious contest commenced with the year 1679, and was carried on by Aurungzebe in a spirit of the most barbarous intolerance. His orders to the two princes, Mauzim and Akber, were "to make the enemy feel all the evils of war in their utmost severity;"† and the Rajpoots, having at length caught something of the intolerant spirit of their foes, plundered the mosques, burned the Koran, and insulted the Moollahs. A strange turn was given to affairs by the conduct of Prince Akber, then only twenty-three, who was induced to join the Rajpoots, on condition of being proclaimed emperor, in lieu of his father. This rebellious attempt proved unsuccessful; and after being deserted by every Mohammedan follower, Akber resolved to take refuge with the Mahrattas, and, under the escort of Durga Das and 500 Rajpoots, arrived safely in the Concan, A.D. 1681. Great changes had taken place in the affairs of the Deccan since the withdrawal of the flower of the Mogul troops to the north-eastern frontier, in 1672. Sevajee having turned his arms against Beejapoor, had, in the course of the year 1673, become master of the whole of the southern Concan (excepting the points held by the English, Abyssinians, and Portuguese), and of a tract above the Ghauts, extending to the east beyond the upper course of the Kistna. In 1675 he crossed the Nerbudda, and began to invade the Mogul territory. In the next four years he formed separate alliances with the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor against the Moguls, now under the command of Dileer Khan; and, in return for his co-operation, received valuable cessions of territory, including the jaghire in Mysore, which had been suffered to descend to his half-brother, Venkajee.

One singular feature in this period of the history of Sevajee, is the flight of Sumbajee, the elder of his two sons, who had been imprisoned in a hill-fort for attempting to violate the wife of a Brahmin. This young man, of his father's better qualities, seems to have only inherited personal daring. He succeeded in making his escape, and took refuge with Dileer Khan, who welcomed him gladly, but on learning that Aurungzebe was treacherously disposed, connived at his quitting the imperial camp. Sumbajee then threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who sent him back to the fort of Panalla. From thence he was speedily released by an unexpected event. Sevajee, shortly after dictating a letter to Venkajee, in which he bade him "arouse and be doing," for the present was the time for great deeds, was seized with a painful swelling in the knee-joint, which threw him into a fever, and in a few days cut short his extraordinary career, in the fifty-third year of his age, A.D. 1680.

The emperor expected, that deprived of their leader, the Mahrattas would sink into insignificance. But he was mistaken. Sevajee well knew the character of his countrymen, and had carefully used that knowledge in laying down rules for their government. The Brahminical creed could not be used as a weapon of persecution, but its mingled toleraunce and exclusiveness made it a powerful instrument for concentrating the religious feelings of the Hindoos, and directing their full force against the cruel and bigotted oppression commanded by the Koran, and practised by Aurungzebe. Sevajee made it his mainstay, scarcely less when the boy-chief of a band of half-naked and superstitious mountaineers, than when these had become the nucleus of a powerful army, and he the crowned king of a state (under Providence) of his own creation, with yearly-increasing territory and revenue. It is

* About this time Aurungzebe had sent a body of 2,000 horse to escort to his court a princess of Roopnagurh, a younger branch of the Marwar house, whom he demanded in marriage. The maiden, indignant at the thought of wedding the enemy of her race, sent a message to Raj Sing by her preceptor (the family priest), entreating him to come to her rescue. "Is the swan," she asked, "to be the mate of the stork; a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian?" The rana accepted the challenge, appeared suddenly before Roopnagurh, cut off the imperial guard, and carried away the princess in triumph to Oudipoor.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 498. The same paragraph states, "their orders were to employ part of their troops to cut off all supplies from the fugitives in the hills; and with the rest to lay waste the country, burn and destroy the villages, cut down the fruit-trees, and *carry off the women and children*," of course as slaves, or for the services of the harem and its degraded eunuch guards. This barbarity contrasts with the practice of the Hindoos, whether Rajpoot or Mahratta. Sevajee himself decreed, that "cows, cultivators, and women were never to be molested; nor were any but rich Mohammedans, or Hindoos in their service, who could pay a ransom, to be made prisoners" (Duff, vol. i., p. 230); and Elphinstone remarks, that "his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it [war] by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced."

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